

HUNGARY
AND ITS REVOLUTIONS

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WITH A

MEMOIR OF LOUIS KOSSUTH.

BY

E. O. S.

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PREFACE.

"Above all, I hope that it will be a point of honour among us all, that we shall never desert those who have acted unsuccessfully upon Whig principles, while we continue to profess an admiration of those who succeeded in the same principles, in the year 1688.—*Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, vol. i. p. 146.

THE chief object of this work is to give a true and correct relation of the life and character of Louis Kossuth, and especially to point out the principles by which he was guided before and after the Revolution of 1848. The introductory History is therefore little more than a compendium of such events as contributed to form the character of the Hungarian people, and conduced to the development of those laws and institutions by which Hungary claims to be considered an independent nation, capable of self-government.

Anonymous publications, defamatory of the cause of Hungary, as well as of the character of Louis Kossuth, have been more or less credited in England during the last five years. The late Governor of Hungary has been represented as a Demagogue or Red Republican; though accusations of opposite tendencies have likewise been laid to his charge. While each separate statement (like everything false) has

been dropped when refuted, the impression left on many whose judgment and opinion deserve respect, has been derogatory to Kossuth. Englishmen, happy in the enjoyment of constitutional freedom, have listened to calumnies ingeniously devised to court the despotic powers of Europe, and which, at the expense of truth, have injured the unfortunate; but the author of this narrative trusts it will be read in that spirit of justice and fairness which has ever been the boast and pride of the English nation: it does not presume to plead the cause of Kossuth, but only to communicate facts, some of which have hitherto been unknown in this country, while others have been misstated. As actions can only be fairly judged, when their motives are understood, those who would form a just estimate of the character of Kossuth must never lose sight of the main feature which distinguishes him, like the first William of Orange, Algernon Sydney, and George Washington, from most other great Statesmen, viz.: that he never stooped to expediency to obtain his object, however excellent, nor sacrificed one iota of the great principle of right, even to establish right: for this cause he has had to contend against philanthropists as well as against tyrants, while striving to promote the moral before the material welfare of the people.

Though some of the chief incidents related (more particularly those connected with the Revolution) are compiled from books already published, many new facts have been brought together and chronologically arranged, so as to form a connected whole. For the anecdotes relating to the

early life of Kossuth, and to the affairs of Hungary preceding the Revolution, the author is chiefly indebted to the kindness of an Hungarian Gentleman, himself an eye-witness of much that is here recorded, though he took no active part in the political events of the period. It is impossible for the historian of such recent events wholly to escape the charge of having derived information more from one source than another, but with the desire to be impartial, books, as well as people, of various shades of opinion, have been consulted.

The following books have been referred to by the author—

Ludwig Kossuth, von J. E. Hofn.

Sieben und Neunzigtes Heft der Gegenwart—Eine Encyklopadische Darstellung der neuesten Zeit Geschichte für alle Stände.

• Ludwig Kossuth und Ungarns neueste Geschichte, von Arthur Frey.

Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren, 1848 und 1849, von Arthur Gorgey.

• A refutation of some of the Principal Statements in Gorgey's Life and Actions in Hungary, in the years 1848 and 1849, with critical Remarks on his character as a Military Leader, by George Kmety, late General in the Hungarian Army of Independence.

Austria in 1848-49, by W. H. Stiles.

Illustrated History of Hungary, Edward Laurence Godkin.

Revolution of Vienna, Auerbach.

Life of Kossuth, Headley.

Aus Ungarn, Schlesinger.

War in Hungary, General Klapka.

Travels in Hungary and Transylvania, John Paget, Esq.

History of Hungary, Fessler.

Crimes of the House of Hapsburgh against its own Liege Subjects, F. W. Newman.

Speeches of Kossuth in England and America, collected by F. W. Newman.

Kossuth in New England, a Full Account of the Hungarian Governor's visit to Massachusetts.

Kossuth in England.

Kossuth and the *Times*.

White, Red, and Black, by Francis and Theresa Pulszky.

Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady.

Democratic Review, 1853, vol. 2, Stiles, Heningsen, Görgey.

Westminster Review, October, 1853. The Progress of Russia.

The Parliamentary Blue Books, 1849, 1850.

The Eclectic Review, January, 1853.

The Village Notary, by J. E. Eötvös

Hungary in 1851, with an Experience of the Austrian Police, by Charles Loring Brace.

&c., &c.

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HISTORY OF HUNGARY.

CHAPTER I.

Emigration of the Huns into Europe.—Various races which succeeded one another in Pannonia.

A. D. 376—880.

THE early history of Hungary, the ancient Pannonia, is lost in the darkness of a remote age, but it appears probable that the first inhabitants were of Greek origin, with some admixture of Celtic blood. At a later period the northern part of the country and the borders of the Danube, were peopled by two Germanic tribes, the Quadi and the Marcomanni, who are mentioned in Cæsar's Commentaries; the Dacians occupied modern Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the rest of the land was inhabited by a Slavonic tribe, known as the Jazyges. These various races were all subject to Rome during the first centuries of the Christian era, until the Huns, an Asiatic people, commenced their invasion of Europe about the end of the fourth century. They established themselves in Pannonia, and soon became such formidable neighbours, that the Emperor Theodosius II. paid their chief, Rugilas, an annual tribute of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, to prevent their threatened descent upon the eastern empire. Rugilas was succeeded by his nephews, Bleda and Attila; and after the deposition and death of the former, Attila became the undisputed chief of his tribe. His ambition and thirst for dominion, combined with talents of no mean order,

brought the empires of the East and West to the brink of ruin, and extended his kingdom from the Rhine to the Volga, and from the islands of the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea.

The Huns are described by the Romans as "a fierce and savage people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous nations, with no food but roots and raw meat, no houses, not even huts . . . they lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods and on the mountains, where from their infancy they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships. . . . They were accustomed to eat and sleep on horseback, scarcely ever dismounting," &c., &c. Under Attila they appear to have enjoyed a life of greater luxury, and to have availed themselves of the abundant resources of the country to display a magnificence which astonished the ambassadors of the Empêror Theodosius, who expatiated on the gold, precious stones, and gorgeous horse-trappings of the princes composing the retinue of the barbarian monarch; "the guests were all served in silver and gold, and regaled with a great variety of liquors in cups of gold enriched with precious stones." The camp of Attila, situated between the Theiss and the Danube, appears in some respects to have resembled the cities of Asia in ancient days, when the splendour of the king and the misery of his subjects were strangely contrasted: the common soldiers inhabited huts of mud and straw, those of higher rank occupied wooden buildings, while the palace covered an immense area and was surrounded by a high wall with towers. The wives of the King, with all his court and retinue, lived within this enclosure; and that part of the building allotted to the Queen was supported by columns adorned with curious workmanship.

With Attila the power and glory of the Huns reached its greatest height, and commenced its decline; soon after

his death, Ardarich, King of the Gepidæ, in alliance with the Ostro-Goths, asserted his independence, and divided the country between himself and his allies; while the Gepidæ retained ancient Dacia, from the Danube to the Theiss, the Ostro-Goths appropriated the rest of Pannonia, leaving the remains of the various tribes, Pannonians, Illyrians, Dacians, Romans, Wallachs, Huns, and the descendants of the Slavonic race of the Jazyges* in quiet possession of the land they occupied. Many of the Pannonian Goths followed Theodoric into Italy against Odoacer, whom they three times conquered, and established their chief, King of Italy. About this period, the Bulgarians, from the plains of Russia and Lithuania, swept over eastern Europe, and finally settled near the mouths of the Danube and in Thrace.

The Ostro-Goths had spread the doctrines of Arius wherever they had introduced Christianity, and in the commencement of the sixth century, the Emperor Justinian, under the pretence of zeal for the orthodox faith, attacked the dominions of those belonging to the opposite sect, and seized on a part of Pannonia. His success appears to have been less in controversy than in arms, for the Arian or Unitarian form of Christianity has continued to the latest period, the religion of a large number of the inhabitants of Transylvania, and of the east of Hungary.

During the reign of Justinian the Slavonic races first began to play an important part in history. Resembling the Huns in the manner of their lives, they had hitherto been contented to dwell in miserable huts, amidst the forests and marshy plains of Pannonia, but with increasing numbers and strength, they became ambitious of a more extended territory, and uniting with the Gepidæ they defeated two Grecian armies, stormed Thessalonica, and descended on Dalmatia, Greece, and Thrace. Panic-stricken by these successes of the barbarians, and unable to rely

solely on the armies of the empire, Justinian concluded an alliance with a Mongolian race, the Avars, who, bribed by rich presents, advanced into the country and dispersed the army of the Gepidæ and Slaves. In 565, Alboin, King of the Lombards, invited Bajan, Khan of the Avars, to attack his enemy, Kunimund, King of the Gepidæ. Bajan was successful, and after presenting Alboin with the skull of Kunimund as a trophy, took possession of the whole land. He sent ambassadors to Justinian in the hope of obtaining his protection, but when he found his friendly offers met with threats of invasion, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the various races which occupied the territory surrounding his new dominions. Bajan, like Attila, created and sustained the power of his nation, which was also destined, like that of the Huns, to sink into comparative insignificance after his death. His successors carried on a barbarous warfare with the Slaves, and the other races of Pannonia.

In the beginning of the eighth century, Charles Martel of France, the enemy of paganism, carried his victorious arms into Pannonia. King Pepin, following the example of his father, drove the Avars across the Theiss, but it was not till the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne that they were completely subdued. Their Khans were, however, suffered to remain under the protection of the Emperor, on condition of embracing Christianity. Colonies of Franks, Bavarians, and Carinthians were planted in the land, and Pannonia became, for a time, a province of France. The Slavonic races of Bohemia claimed part of Pannonia from the Avars (now vassals of the Emperor), and as the ambassadors of Charlemagne were unsuccessful in an attempt to heal their differences, the chiefs of both races were summoned to appear before the Emperor himself at Aix-la-Chapelle.

For a third time the glories of a great conquest were

destined to perish with the conqueror; the successors of Charlemagne were as weak and incapable as those of Attila and Bajan. Towards the end of the ninth century, Swatopluk prince of Moravia and chief of the Slavonic people, proclaimed himself the enemy of the descendant of Charlemagne. The Bohemians and other tribes joined his standard, and the rebellion shortly became so formidable, that King Louis of Germany was obliged to cede all the land North-East of the Danube to Swatopluk. Upon the death of Louis, the kingdom of the Franks was again subdivided; Charles the Fat, afterwards King of France, inherited the larger portion, while Pannonia fell to the share of Arnulph, grandson of Louis, who finally resigned the possession to Swatopluk, on condition of his supporting his claim to the empire.

Pannonia was thus, in the end of the ninth century, peopled by a variety of races, distinct in character and in language, when the country was for the last time subjugated by a new race, possessed of high mental and physical endowments, and differing from all former conquerors, in being able to retain the power as well as the land which they acquired.

CHAPTER II.

Settlement of the Magyars.

A.D. 880—1000.

THE Magyars are by some supposed to be a Finnish race, by others to have the same origin as the Turks, but all agree in the account of their superior hardihood, courage, and manly qualities. It appears probable that they had wandered from the foot of the Ural Mountains, when they advanced upon Europe, at the time that Charles the Fat was King in France, Arnulph Emperor of the west, Swatopluk reigned in Pan-

nonia and Moravia, and the Bulgarians occupied the region of the Theiss.

The race was divided into seven tribes, each governed by a separate chief, one of whom, by name Alom, was elected by the rest to lead them forth to new conquests, and in search of a wider pasture-land for their flocks and herds. The fame of the riches of Pannonia, and of the past glories of the Huns reached the Magyars in the far east, and eagerly claiming for their chief a descent from the great Attila, they resolved to go in quest of this favoured region. Alom was of mature age, possessed a noble aspect, quick eye, and strong arm, and was valiant, wise, and generous; but in choosing him as their leader, the Magyars insisted upon his accepting certain conditions, by which they maintained their own dignity, power, and independence. They insisted that whatever land should be acquired by their united strength, should be divided among them according to their respective merits; that, as they of their own free will had elected Alom as their Duke or leader, he and his descendants should promise never to exclude them from the ducal council or the government; and that, as whosoever should fail in his allegiance to the Duke or cause discord between the chiefs, would be condemned to die, so should the descendants of Duke Alom, if they violated the oath of their father, in like manner be for ever banished from among the people. These conditions were the foundation-stone of the Hungarian Constitution, which has preserved the liberties of the nation during eight centuries.

When the Magyars reached the Volga, they swam the river upon inflated skins, and proceeding onwards, pitched their tents beside the Dnieper. So vast a host were unwelcome visitants to the inhabitants of this region, who, being too weak to expel them by force, were obliged to have recourse to stratagem. They described Pannonia in glowing

colours, and assured the Magyars that the present inhabitants, composed of mixed races, Slaves, Bulgarians, Wallachs, and Franks, would be easily overcome. Alom evinced his gratitude for this information by gifts of gold and furs, and set forth once more on his journey to the land of promise. The formidable aspect of his followers, secured them a friendly reception from all whose territories they passed through, and the news of their approach preceded them to the banks of the Theiss. . Some of the races inhabiting Pannonia came with offers of service to propitiate the Magyars; others who refused to bid them welcome were punished with death. Arrived at Zemplin, Alom asserted his claim to the whole land in right of his supposed ancestor, Attila, and devoted four days to thanksgiving and feasting; on the fourth he assembled the chiefs of the people, and announced to them that, as he had fulfilled his work, and the infirmities of age required rest, he resigned his power, and demanded their obedience, to his son Arpád.

Arpád immediately turned his arms against the Bulgarians, and with such success that his fame reached the ears of the Emperor Arnulph, then engaged in war with Swatopluk, and he invited him to come to his assistance. The ignominious peace by which Arnulph ceded Pannonia to Swatopluk did not satisfy the Magyars. Their numbers and power had rapidly increased, with the accession of other races, who were ready to acknowledge the supremacy of Arpád; but most of the land inhabited by the Slaves, was still subject to the king of Bulgaria, and to Swatopluk. Arpád and his chiefs re-commenced the war by the siege of the castle of Borsova, the stronghold of Salan, the Bulgarian prince; in three days they succeeded in taking the fortress, and the fugitive Bulgarians hastened to inform Salan of his loss. Nothing daunted, the prince sent messengers to Arpád, bidding him withdraw his hordes to the Scythian

deserts, or submit to his authority. Arpád received the ambassadors graciously, bade them observe the numbers and the power of his followers, and reminded them of the feeble resistance which could be offered him, by scattered tribes of Bulgarians and Slaves. He demanded only a narrow strip of land, a cup of water from the Danube, and a little grass from the plains, that he might compare them with the land, and water, and grass of Scythia; then bestowing rich gifts on the ambassadors, he dismissed them with twelve milk-white horses as a present to their king. Salan accepted the horses, and gladly granted all that Arpád demanded, little dreaming that by the strip of land, the water, and the grass, the Magyar claimed a recognition of his right to the most productive parts of Hungary, viz:—the mountain region where copper, iron, and precious stones were found, the rivers, and the plain where rich pastures could feed his flocks and herds, and where the best wines could be manufactured. When Salan demanded the restoration of that which had been taken from him by stratagem, Arpád answered, all he now possessed was the free gift of the Bulgarian king, or purchased by the white horses, but that he further required the rest of the land between the Theiss and the Danube, which were his by inheritance, from Attila. It was vain for Salan to resist, and after a great battle, in which the prince was defeated, Arpád took possession of the whole of the Bulgarian kingdom. Swatopluk having resigned his dominions, and retired to end his days among the hermits on the mountain of Zobor, his son took possession of Bohemia, and abandoned the district of the Waag to the Magyars.

Having thus accomplished the conquest of Hungary, Arpád called together the first Diet, or assembly of chiefs, in the vicinity of the modern city of Szégedin. Here judges were appointed, and the mutual relations and duties of the

Duke, the chiefs, and the people were determined. The country was divided into counties and baronies, fortified castles were ordered to be built, and the surrounding districts were bestowed on the Magyars, according to the compact between the chiefs and Alom. The Magyars, who now assumed the general name of Hungarians, were all declared free, and to be in the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges; those races who had voluntarily submitted to the conquerors were received as friends and shared the same rights with the Magyar, while those who had resisted the invaders, were reduced to serfdom and compelled to till the soil. Thus commenced the distinction of privileged and unprivileged classes, "nobiles," or freemen (constituting a species of national aristocracy), and peasant.

Árpád pitched his camp on the island of Csepel, on the Danube, below the modern city of Pesth, from whence he spread his conquests as far as Italy, and after having secured the succession to his son Zoltan, died in the beginning of the tenth century.

The youth of Zoltan emboldened Louis (the last male descendant of Charlemagne in the direct line), to attempt an invasion of Hungary; but before he proceeded farther than Augsburg, he was surprised and overpowered by the Magyars, who had advanced to meet him. From this time Germany and Italy continued a prey to their devastations, and the captives taken in these expeditions were brought to Hungary and included among the serfs. The Hungarians were invited into Italy, in 902, by Berengarius, duke of Friuli, to assist him in his wars against Guido, duke of Spoleto. They seized on Aquileia, Verona, and Padua, and advanced so far that Berengarius himself was obliged to oppose them. They however defeated the army he led against them, and were only induced to retire on the payment of a large sum of money.

Geisa, the grandson of Arpád was a lover of peace and justice, and favoured Christianity, to which his wife was a convert. He surrendered the province of Austria (which had hitherto belonged to Hungary) to Leopold, Duke of Swabia, who had married the sister of the Emperor Henry II. Geisa founded schools and colleges in Hungary, but his desire for the advance of civilization and of peaceful arts, was looked upon with contempt by his barbarous nobles. He had however sown the good seed, which grew up and bore fruit under his son Stephen, who founded the monarchy, gave consistency to the nation, and established Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

Kings of the house of Arpád—Stephen I., Peter, Andrew I., Bela I., Solomon, Geisa I., Ladislaus I., Coloman—The Crusades.

A.D. 1000—1114.

WITH Stephen commences one of the most important periods in the history of Hungary. He was born in Graf, in 978, and the monkish legends relate that his mother had a vision before his birth, in which his future greatness was revealed to her by the first martyr. In his early youth he bore the name of Wait, and at fifteen years of age received the oath of fealty from the great nobles of the land. When the Bohemian bishop Adelbert arrived in Hungary to convert the pagans to Christianity, the young prince was among those who listened to his exhortations, and after his solemn betrothal to Gisela, sister of the duke of Bavaria, he was baptized under the name of Stephen, in remembrance of his mother's dream.

On the death of Geisa, Stephen succeeded him in the dukedom. Though only nineteen, he possessed the wisdom

and decision of riper years, both of which he was soon called upon to exert, to quell an insurrection caused by Kuppá, Duke of Sümegh, who, being also a descendant of Arpád, wished to restore the rites of paganism. Kuppá was however defeated and slain in battle. According to ancient usage, Stephen was invested with the war girdle before advancing to the attack of the enemy, and a consecrated sword placed in his hand, for the defence of the true faith and of his country. This sword was ever afterwards preserved, and used in the ceremony of coronation.

By a wise distribution of threats and promises, Stephen succeeded in establishing Christianity throughout his dominions, and his example was followed by the princes of Moravia, Bulgaria, and Servia. He founded ecclesiastical schools, colleges, and monasteries in various parts of Hungary, and invited German monks to occupy them. He next commenced the cathedral of Gran, divided the land into ten dioceses, and finally sent an embassy to Rome, to demand the consent of the Pope, and of the Emperor Otho, to change his dukedom into a kingdom. Pope Sylvester, willing to gratify so zealous a servant of the church, replied to his ambassadors, "I am called 'The Apostolic,' but your prince, who through Christ has gained a great people, is truly an apostle." His holiness next proceeded to confirm the nomination of a monk of the name of Dominic, to the new archbishopric of Gran, and then not only granted the kingdom to Stephen and his heirs, but gave him permission to have the patriarchal cross borne before him, as a sign of his apostolic mission, and yielded to him his right of appointing all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom. With the cross, pope Sylvester sent him a crown of gold, symbolical of his royal jurisdiction. Stephen selected the Holy Virgin as the queen and patroness of the kingdom, and fixed on the month of August, the feast of her ascension, for his coronation.

The ceremony as performed at that time, was continued with little alteration to the latest period of the monarchy. Preceded by the great nobles of the kingdom, the King entered the Cathedral, and kneeling at the altar, swore to preserve the churches, prelates, barons, magnates, nobles, and all the inhabitants, in their immunities, liberties, rights, laws, and privileges. He was then anointed with oil, and the archbishop of Gran placed the sacred crown upon his head. On leaving the Cathedral he was conducted on horseback to a circular mound on the banks of the Danube, near Presburg, where after repeating his coronation oath, he ascended to the top, and pointed with his sword North, South, East, and West, to indicate his determination to defend his kingdom on whatever side it should be attacked. The crown of St. Stephen descending from generation to generation became an object of profound veneration to the people, who regarded it not only as conferring the kingdom of Hungary, but as a pledge for the preservation of their rights and liberties, sworn to by the King at his coronation.

The embassy to Rome had been undertaken with the consent of the great nobles, who were careful to provide that neither Stephen nor his successors should regard the kingdom in any other light than as the free gift of the Hungarian people; they therefore obtained from him a Constitution in 1001. He appointed a Palatine or umpire between him and his subjects, second only to himself, and keeper of the royal seal; and over each Comitatus or county, he placed an officer (Fő Ispány), with full civil and military authority. Next in rank to the Palatine were the Magnates or those "nobiles" employed in the great offices of the state; after them the inferior "nobiles," including all the freeholders of the kingdom, who shared in the administration, and sent their representatives to the

National Diet or Parliament. Here, with the Magnates and Prelates, they decided all great questions, the King having only the right of annulling or ratifying their acts.

Stephen had to encounter many difficulties in his schemes of religious as well as of political reform, and family misfortunes embittered his latter years. The death of his son was not only an affliction to him as a father, but caused much embarrassment in the choice of a successor. There were several aspirants to the throne, and his own life was even once attempted. The calm courage and magnanimity of the aged monarch disarmed the assassin, and his supposed instigators, Andrew and Bela, cousins of Stephen, went into voluntary exile. Happy in the conviction that his labours for his country had not been vain, Stephen resigned his crown to his nephew Peter, and died in 1036. The gratitude of the nation was justly due to a monarch who might well be called the father of his country, since (a rare example among kings), he granted the people a Constitution by which they were enabled to guide themselves in the road to true liberty. He has been canonized by the church for the superstitious zeal with which he enforced the outward symbols of Christianity, but he is venerated in the hearts of the people for the truly Christian virtues he possessed. His body was conveyed to Stuhlweissenburg, and there solemnly interred in the church of the Holy Virgin, the patroness of Hungary.

Peter, the successor of Stephen, inherited his uncle's superstitious veneration for the church, without his political wisdom or virtue. His mode of life did not agree with his religious professions, and he therefore neither gained the favour of those who still inclined towards paganism, nor of pious Christians. He especially gave offence to the Hungarian people by surrounding himself with foreigners, introducing Germans into his council, and

even appointing them governors of cities. A conspiracy was therefore formed against him, he was obliged to take refuge in Bavaria, and Samuel Aba, one of the blood royal, was appointed in his place. He immediately revoked the decrees of Peter, and expelled the Germans from the kingdom, but while attempting to improve the condition of the peasantry, he raised the enmity of the "nobiles," who conspired again to overthrow him; their conspiracy was however discovered, and while some of the leaders were put to death, the remainder sought shelter at the court of the Emperor, Henry III. Peter had already appealed to Henry against his rebellious subjects, and the Emperor had declared his intention of supporting the sacred cause of kings, in the person of the Hungarian monarch. But no sooner did a rumour of this intention reach Aba than he collected an army, and made a successful inroad into Austria and Bavaria, carrying off prisoners and booty. Having thus convinced the Emperor of his power, he sent ambassadors to his court, offering to restore all he had taken, on condition that Henry would consent to abandon Peter; but the proposal was not listened to, and strengthened by the fugitive Hungarian nobles, the Emperor advanced into Hungary. After a lengthened contest, victory declared for the invaders, and many more of the discontented nobles deserting Aba in the last hour, the defeated chief fled across the Danube, and was murdered by his own followers in a village upon the Theiss. Peter had learnt nothing from his three years of adversity; and as soon as he felt his throne secure, he recalled the Germans into Hungary, and treated the Hungarian nobles, to whom he owed his restoration, with insult and neglect. In 1045 he invited the Emperor to visit him, and during the celebration of the feast of Easter, when all the Magnates were assembled, he declared his intention of holding his

kingdom as a fief of the German empire, and swore allegiance to the Emperor, presenting him with a crown and lance out of the treasury, which Henry sent as an offering to Rome.

The people, indignant at Peter's conduct, determined to depose him, and in a meeting held at Csanad, it was resolved to send to his cousin Andrew, who had fled from Hungary during the reign of Stephen, and entreat him to return, and restore the ancient rights of the race of Arpád, as well as the independence of Hungary. On his arrival, he was in the first place, required to promise the Hungarians the free exercise of the pagan religion; Christianity had not yet taken a deep root in the hearts of the people, and was associated in their minds with the dominion of the foreigner, through the German monks of Stephen, and the German and Italian courtiers of Peter. After giving the promise demanded of him, Andrew placed himself at the head of the insurgent nobles, and the whole nation rising in rebellion against Peter, he was soon afterwards taken prisoner, blinded, and shut up in the fortress of Stuhlweissenburg, where he ended his existence.

The reign of Andrew began with a general destruction of churches and monasteries, and the murder of a vast number of ecclesiastics; but as the new King was in reality attached to the Christian religion, and had only promised to restore paganism in order to obtain a throne, he was no sooner secure in his kingdom than he threw off the mask, and was crowned in Stuhlweissenburg in 1047. His first act was to punish with death those who had been guilty of putting out the eyes of Peter, after which he threatened to destroy all who practised pagan rites, and lastly, restored the churches, with the laws and regulations framed by King Stephen. He next hastened to despatch ambassadors to the Emperor to deprecate his wrath at the deposition of Peter, by

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offering to hold the kingdom as a fief of the empire, and to pay Henry an annual tribute. These propositions were however rejected, and Andrew turned for assistance to his brother Bela, whom he had left in Poland. "We were once," he said, "companions in misfortune; let us now share the joys and splendour of a throne; I have no heir or brother but you; you shall be my successor in the government."

In reward for great services which Bela had rendered to the King of Poland, he had received his daughter in marriage, with large estates in Pomerania; but his attachment to his native country having continued undiminished by time or absence, he eagerly accepted the proposal of Andrew to return to Hungary; on his arrival the King bestowed on him one-third of his kingdom, with the title of Duke. The brothers were soon afterwards involved in wars with the Emperor, which however were of short duration.

When Andrew invited Bela to share his kingdom, he had only one child, a daughter; but a few years later, the birth of a son raised in his mind fears and jealousies of his brother. The child was christened Solomon, and was, when yet an infant, betrothed to the daughter of the Emperor Henry III. When Solomon had reached his seventh year, Andrew assembled the Diet at Stuhlweissenburg, and demanded their assent to his coronation as future King of Hungary. Bela and his sons willingly acquiesced in the decision of the Diet, and Solomon was accordingly crowned the following year. Andrew was, however, still dissatisfied, and there were not wanting among the courtiers those who insinuated that the succession of Solomon could only be secured by the death of Bela.

The King accordingly one day invited his brother to his palace, and received him, stretched upon a couch, with a crown and a naked sword at his feet. As soon as Bela ap-

peared, he addressed him in these words: "Duke, I was induced to place the crown on the head of my son, by a desire for the welfare of the kingdom, and not from any schemes of self-aggrandisement. The government, by right, devolves on you after my death; therefore you are free to choose: if you desire the kingdom, take the crown, but if you are satisfied with the rank of duke, take up the sword." Bela had been already warned by his friends that his life depended on his choice; he therefore accepted the sword, and left the presence of Andrew, resolved to use it in his own defence. He escaped with his sons into Poland to demand the assistance of his former friends, which was readily granted him, and he returned with three armies to Hungary, where the inhabitants flocked to his standard. Andrew immediately sent Solomon into Germany, and requested the support of the Regents of the empire, who governed at that time for the young Emperor Henry IV. The King's troops, with his German auxiliaries, were however defeated, and himself slain, in a great battle near the Theiss, when Bela was immediately proclaimed King of Hungary.

The first act of the new sovereign was to publish a general amnesty, and to offer his protection to the wives and children of those who had fallen in battle, fighting against him. He next commenced a series of political and statistical reforms, such as, diminishing the taxes, coining gold and silver money, regulating the weights and measures, and fixing the average price of food. He convoked a Diet at Stuhlweissenburg, to which at his command every County sent two deputies; many of the people, supposing he was impelled to this measure either by weakness or from some sinister motive, followed their representatives to the Diet. They encamped before the gates of the city, and sent messages to the King and to the Magnates demanding the restoration of paganism, and the destruction of priests and

monks.* . The insurrection threatened to become dangerous, and Bela determined to resort to stratagem; he therefore requested a delay of three days before he gave his answer; in the meantime he sent trustworthy messengers to all the castles and districts, and collected by night an armed force sufficient to put down the insurgents. On the third day he attempted by argument to induce them to retire peaceably, but when this failed, he gave a signal, and they were immediately surrounded, and the leaders of the rebellion cut down. Their followers, by virtue of a law of King Stephen, were effaced from the list of freemen, "nobiles," and reduced to serfdom. By this act, paganism was subdued in Hungary, although the people were not wholly converted to Christianity for some time after. Bela, desirous to obtain possession of the person of his nephew Solomon, who had now attained his twelfth year, and lived under the protection of the Margrave of Austria, assembled an army for the purpose. His intention was, however, frustrated by his death, for as he was one day sitting in judgment according to custom, the house in which he sat, fell, and buried him in its ruins.

The sons of Bela refused to accept the crown offered them by the Magnates of Hungary, and sent an embassy to the Margrave of Austria signifying their renunciation of all claim to the throne, and their readiness to acknowledge their cousin Solomon king. Solomon was accompanied to Stuhlweissenburg by the young Emperor of Germany, and the two boys were seated together upon the throne of St. Stephen. The youthful Solomon was wholly under the guidance of two powerful nobles, Count Veit and Count

* Though called pagans by the monkish historians, they appear to have been simply monotheists, and to have objected to the polytheistic Christianity of the Romish hierarchy, chiefly on political grounds.

Irnei, who persuaded him to deprive his cousins, the sons of Bela, even of that portion of the land which was their rightful inheritance. They were therefore obliged to fly into Poland, and place themselves once more under the protection of Duke Bolislaus. Some of the Hungarian nobles adopted their cause, and Solomon with his favourites shut themselves up in the fortress of Wieselburg. The Prelates of the kingdom however interfered, and terminated these family feuds, which threatened to plunge the country into the horrors of civil war. The sons of Bela were restored to their inheritance, and Solomon was crowned for the third time; his cousin Geisa himself performing the ceremony. Ten years of uninterrupted harmony followed this reconciliation, in which time the King was assisted by the Dukes in defending his kingdom from foreign invaders.

The Emperor of the East, Michael Dukas, had allowed his subjects to commit depredations on the Hungarian territory; and accordingly, Solomon, with his cousins Geisa and Ladislaus laid siege to Belgrade; the inhabitants held out bravely for two months, but in the third, a Hungarian maiden, who had been shortly before led away captive by the Greeks, set fire to the city in several places, and opened an entrance for her countrymen. An immense slaughter followed, and the treasures of the Greeks, in gold, silver, and precious stones fell to the share of Solomon. Niketas, the Greek commander, and the garrison, had withdrawn into the fortress, but offered to capitulate on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be permitted a free exit. The King and the Dukes granted their demand, and Niketas, with a silver image of the Virgin borne before him, and followed by his soldiers, advanced to Duke Geisa, to whom he delivered himself and the greater part of the garrison, while the rest offered their submission to the King. This mark of confidence in Geisa roused the jealousy of

Solomon, who in revenge made an unequal division of the booty, appropriating three-fourths to himself and his favourites, and bestowing the small remainder upon his cousins. The Greek emperor, Michael Dukas, still further incensed Solomon, by sending rich presents to Geisa and Ladislaus, as a token of his gratitude for their generous treatment of their prisoners. The brothers became soon aware of the suspicion with which their conduct was regarded, and withdrew from the camp; and when Solomon recalled them, only Geisa ventured to appear. The King was advised to put him to death, but abstained, because he knew that Ladislaus was at hand with a large army: Geisa and Ladislaus immediately prepared to defend themselves, and the country was soon divided between the adherents of the King and of the Dukes. While Solomon was celebrating the Christmas festivities in the abbey of Szekszard, he was advised to terminate the civil war, by ordering the assassination of Geisa; but this counsel was overheard by the Abbot, who hastened in disguise to the Duke, and entreated him to save his life by flight. Arrived at Tokay, Geisa sent messengers to his brother to hasten to his assistance: their united forces met that of Solomon on the banks of the Danube, and after a hard-fought battle, Geisa and Ladislaus were finally victorious. The Prelates and Magnates of the kingdom met in Stuhlweissenburg, and there discovered that Solomon had sought the assistance of the German Emperor, promising him in return to hold Hungary as a fief of the empire, and to resign to him six fortified towns. In consequence of this act, Solomon was deposed and declared a traitor and enemy of his country, incapable of governing, and Geisa was elected King in his place. An embassy was sent to the Duke, to offer him the kingdom; but though he consented to act as regent, he refused the crown, until further attempts had been made to effect a reconciliation with Solomon. Heedless of every thing but vengeance, the King

had already sent to the Emperor, Henry IV., to hasten his approach. In order to prevent this invasion, Geisa commanded all the land to be laid waste through which the imperial army was obliged to pass; and his stratagem succeeded so well, that Henry was forced to make an inglorious retreat, without once encountering the enemy.

Geisa had taken the precaution to acquaint Pope Gregory VII. with the late events in Hungary, and he now received an assurance of the protection of the holy see, and an acknowledgment of his rightful claim to the throne, since his cousin, despising the protection of St. Peter, had stooped to become a vassal of the German empire. He was further admonished, "that, as the kingdom of Hungary, like the remaining kingdoms of the world, must maintain its independence, so it might not acknowledge the supremacy of any other prince, but only submit to the Romish church, the universal mother, who did not require slavish subjection, but obedience from her children."

The Diet had been at all times jealous of the interference of the church in the political affairs of the kingdom, and was ready to oppose Gregory in any pretence of feudal right, derived from the papal donation of the crown to King Stephen; but an exception was made, in this instance, and the representatives of the kingdom urged Geisa to accept the title of king, in order to secure the peace of the country. In 1075 he yielded to their wishes to have him crowned, though he still only maintained the rank of Grand Duke of Hungary, but with a promise that at some future period he would, by the grace of God, be consecrated king. On this occasion, Michael Dukas, Emperor of the East, sent him a circlet of gold, adorned with Greek images and inscriptions, which was attached to the crown of St. Stephen. Geisa only reigned three years, and died in 1077, while negotiating a peace with Solomon, who was closely besieged

in Presburg by his brother Ladislaus. As soon as Geisa's death was known, the "nobiles" assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and unanimously elected Ladislaus as his successor. He was celebrated for the beauty of his person, for his unusual height and majestic aspect; but, above all, for his mild and Christian virtues.

Bolislav II., duke of Poland, who had formerly assisted
his son

put to death a bishop of Cracow, who had offended him. The deed was committed while the bishop was before the altar; and, as a punishment for this sacrilegious act, Pope Gregory placed the whole country under an interdict, and absolved the people from their allegiance to their prince. Bolislav, with his only son, fled into Hungary, where, in spite of the remonstrances of the Hungarian Prelates, the King received him with hospitality. He could not forget the kindness shown to himself, his father, and his brothers in their adversity, nor allow priestly menaces to deter him from paying a debt of gratitude. When the Pope learnt that Ladislaus had taken the Polish Duke under his protection, he adopted the cause of Solomon. But the Hungarian Prelates, more eager than ever to effect a reconciliation between the princes and avoid further strife, offered their mediation. Ladislaus was not only ready to accept any terms from his cousin, but even to abdicate in his favour, and a solemn reconciliation accordingly took place, by which Solomon was permitted to retain his rank and dignity, while Ladislaus governed the kingdom. Scarcely had the former obtained these concessions, than he began to conspire against, and even plot the assassination, of his cousin. His intentions were however discovered, and Ladislaus shut him up in the fortress of Visegrád, in the vicinity of the modern city of Waitzen. About this period, Pope Gregory, desirous to show his friendly intentions towards Hungary, sent a nuncio

to proclaim the canonization of King Stephen ; Ladislaus, with a vast assemblage of Prelates, Abbots, and Magnates, received the pope's ambassador at Stuhlweissenburg, where the ceremony took place, and the King, willing that all should partake in the general happiness, sent for Solomon and gave him his freedom. But no benefits could move the deposed monarch from his purpose of regaining his kingdom, and the first use he made of his liberty, was to stir up enemies against Ladislaus, in Moldavia. Defeated in a battle with the armies of the Greek Emperor (whom he had provoked by an invasion of Bulgaria), Solomon fled across the Danube, and in an attempt to explore the depths of a thick forest, he separated from his followers, and was never heard of more. Some asserted that he was afterwards seen as a pilgrim at the shrine of St. Stephen, and that he ended his days as a hermit; but his fate is wrapt in an obscurity which after, the lapse of ages, even the endeavours of the curious are not likely to disperse.

The virtues of Ladislaus have afforded a theme, on which the monkish historians have loved to build wild and improbable tales. His sister, who had married the Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was left a widow and childless, soon after the accession of Ladislaus to the throne of Hungary. Attacked by numerous enemies, she appealed to her brother for assistance ; he accordingly marched a large army into Croatia, when she resigned the cares of government to him, and retired from the world. From that time, Croatia formed a part of the kingdom of Hungary. Ladislaus introduced the Hungarian Constitution into the new province, which was administered by the King, Prelates, Barons, and Magnates of the kingdom. He appointed his nephew Almos, Regent or King of Croatia, founded a bishopric at Agram, the principal city of the province, and extended his domains to the shores of the Adriatic.

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Ladislaus had but one son (Coloman), and three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the son of Alexius Comnenus, Emperor of the East. In the year 1094, Alexius sent ambassadors to Rome, who were commissioned to entreat the Pope to demand the assistance of the princes of the West against the Turks: this race had advanced from the East, and in the course of the last twenty years, established themselves in Asia Minor, erecting a kingdom on the ruins of the Greek empire. The ambassadors of Alexius were supported by the zeal of the fanatic, Peter the Hermit, who, excited by the sufferings of the Christians he had witnessed at Jerusalem, had already appealed to Urban II. The Pope believed he saw in him one commissioned by a Higher Power, and promised to summon a council to consider the means by which to deliver the Holy Land from the infidel.* Ladislaus, among other princes, was invited to assist in a conference at Placentia, and though he refused to attend in person, he permitted his Prelates, Abbots, and Magnates to obey the summons of the pope, giving them an assurance that he would support them in their acquiescence in all things ordained by the holy father, provided they were in themselves just. In Placentia was laid the scheme of the first Crusade, and such was the reputation of Ladislaus throughout Europe, that an embassy was sent to him at the suggestion of William of Aquitaine, requesting him to undertake to be its leader. The King of Hungary consented, and was only prevented by death from fulfilling this promise. His son Coloman, who was in Poland, returned just in time to receive his father's blessing before he expired, after a reign of nineteen years. The Hungarians mourned for him three years, during which time no festivities were permitted, and no music was heard in the kingdom. Ladislaus was the first to introduce a code of civil and criminal law into Hungary,

* See Gibbon's Roman Empire. Chap. lviii.

and secured her independence in all matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Coloman, who succeeded his father, was deformed and unprepossessing in his person; but though not so accomplished a warrior as Ladislaus, he had all those qualities which constitute an able ruler, united with resolution and steadiness of purpose necessary to preserve the kingdom entire, in a time of difficulty and discord. A rebellion of the Croats disturbed the very commencement of his reign, but he at once subdued them with a powerful army. He next proceeded to complete the conquests of the late King. The Northmen (Normans) had attacked the maritime cities of Dalmatia, and Coloman led his victorious troops against the enemy, compelling the cities to acknowledge his supremacy, as the price of his protection. In the meantime, the excitement of the Crusade had reached its greatest height in the council of Clermont; but, as the Hungarian King considered it to be his first duty to remain in his own country, he declined taking any part in the expedition.

The first body of crusaders who demanded a free passage through Hungary was led by Walter the Pennyless, a Norman gentleman. They consisted of a disorderly multitude of fifteen thousand men, women, and children, escorted by eight thousand knights. Coloman received them in a friendly manner, and provided them with guides, to conduct them by the shortest way through his kingdom; they crossed the Save, near Semlin; but they had scarcely passed over the river, when sixteen knights returned, on pretence of purchasing arms; instead of which they committed every kind of outrage on the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, who in return deprived them of the arms they already possessed, and seizing all the gold and silver which they had about their persons, sent them back to their comrades, who were encamped before the walls of Belgrade. It was with

some difficulty that the leaders prevented the whole body of crusaders recrossing the Save, to revenge the supposed insult. Soon afterwards, Coloman was informed, that Peter the Hermit, with four knights, and forty thousand pilgrims, demanded likewise a free passage through his dominions. The King not only granted their request, but furnished them with provisions and all they required. Peter led them in tolerable order across the kingdom until they arrived at Semlin, where the sight of the weapons and armour of Walter's knights, suspended as trophies from the walls, inflamed the passions of the multitude, and the zeal of Peter himself was kindled at such a treatment of men, engaged in a holy cause; he resolved that the city should pay dearly for its presumption, and Semlin was accordingly attacked and taken by storm; the infuriated crusaders, pursuing seven thousand of the inhabitants, who had sought refuge on a mountain on the banks of the Danube, slaughtered them without mercy. Returning to the city, the victors were in the act of pillaging and destroying all that remained, when the news reaching them of the advance of the Hungarian King with a large army, they hastily crossed the Save. The commission of similar outrages in Bulgaria, was visited with a fearful vengeance by the inhabitants of the country, and few of the followers of Peter the Hermit survived to reach the Holy Land.

The misdeeds of Peter and his crusaders did not prevent Coloman from giving an equally hospitable reception to a third band, led by a German priest named Gottschalk, who arrived from the district of the Rhine. His followers belonged to the lowest order of the people, and from their first entrance into Hungary commenced a system of murder and pillage, which they continued until the patience of Coloman was exhausted, and he assembled his warriors to consult how he could best rid the country of

these predatory hordes. They decided that they were unworthy to be met in battle, and accordingly sent a herald to them, bidding them choose between safety and destruction : he was desired to inform them, that as the King was willing to spare their lives, he would do so on condition, that they should deliver up their arms to the Hungarians, who would furnish them with all they required, until he could acquaint them with his final decision. The greater number complied, and a large supply of provisions was immediately brought to them ; but while they were feasting in security, the Hungarians treacherously fell upon them, and massacred all but three thousand, who escaped to pursue their journey to Jerusalem. Scarcely had these been despatched, when King Coloman was informed of the arrival of a fourth body of crusaders, led by a Rhenish nobleman, by name Emico. The news was accompanied by an account of the deeds already perpetrated by these fanatics. Many thousand Jews had fallen victims to their rage in Cologne, Trèves, Mayence, and Worms, and they were said to look upon the Hungarians themselves as little better than pagans. Coloman accordingly refused to permit them to enter his dominions, and on their attempting to do so by force, they found the towns on the frontiers strongly fortified, and every entrance barred by warriors ; they were driven back with great slaughter, and from that time the King closed Hungary to the crusaders, until the chivalric followers of Godfrey of Bouillon arrived on the borders of his kingdom. Coloman himself went to meet the great captain, and excused his delay in admitting him by relating the ravages committed by the four preceding companies of pilgrims ; then embracing Godfrey in the presence of his warriors, he granted him all that he demanded.

In the mean time Coloman's chief care was the improvement of the internal administration of his kingdom ; he travelled over the whole country to learn, by personal obser-

vation, how far the laws conduced to the progress and happiness of the people; and, finally, laid the result of his labours before the Diet. All those ordinances of Stephen, Bela, and Ladislaus, which were considered appropriate to the existing condition of the people, were retained; many laws were more strictly defined, and punishments mitigated.

Soon after the departure of Godfrey of Bouillon, a sixth band of crusaders passed through the Hungarian territories; but being led, like the last, by knights and great personages, no breach of discipline was committed, and the sale of provisions, for which ample payment was received, contributed to enrich the Hungarian people. As soon as his guests had departed, Coloman prepared an army to secure his dominion in Croatia and Dalmasia, which had been shaken by recent events. His cousin, Almos, who had been appointed Regent by Ladislaus, feeling himself unequal to the task, had resigned the government to Coloman; but the Hungarian King being occupied with the affairs of his kingdom, the Croatian nobles had formed a league, dividing themselves into twelve bands or companies, each led by a separate chief, to carry on their wars, and rule the province in times of peace, without any reference to the will of their lawful King. After six years' absence from this part of his dominions, Coloman returned thither, and was met on the Save by the league of nobles, prepared to assert their independence. He determined first to try measures of conciliation, and not to resort to force, until it became absolutely necessary: he therefore sent to inform them, he was willing to respect their liberties and grant them his protection, provided they would submit their claims to a peaceful arbitration; upon which they deputed twelve of their number to confer with him. After a lengthened discussion, the King consented to leave them their rights, privileges, and freedom, on condition of their submitting to his rule and to that of his suc-

cessors. After the confirmation of the treaty on both sides, the nobles tendered him their homage, and Coloman was solemnly crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia, by the Archbishop of Spalatro.

On his return to Hungary, he found his Queen had died, leaving him with a son and daughter, both infants. He married, for a second time, Predzlava, a Russian princess; but divorced her in a few months, and sent her back to her father at Kiew, where she shortly afterwards gave birth to a son, Boris, who subsequently became a pretender to the Hungarian throne. A succession of wars with the princes of Russia, and with the republic of Venice, for the possession of Dalmatia, disturbed the remainder of his reign. Almos, the abdicated king of Croatia, also formed a conspiracy to obtain possession of the crown of Hungary; and after three attempts, for two of which he had been pardoned, Coloman, indignant at his ingratitude, deprived him and his innocent son, Bela, of their sight. Stung by remorse at his own cruelty and want of self-command, the king never recovered the remembrance of this deed, which seemed to efface from his mind the happier recollections of the benefits he had conferred upon the nation. He died miserable, but penitent, in 1114, after a wise and virtuous reign of eighteen years.

Although he built churches, he founded no monasteries, and even withdrew the extravagant donations of his predecessors for ecclesiastical endowments; he insisted on a strict and virtuous life among ecclesiastics, and was a severe administrator of justice. With Coloman terminated the reign of those princes who founded the Hungarian kingdom, its constitution and laws; for it is to Stephen, Bela, Ladislaus, and Coloman, that the nation is indebted for national independence, liberty, and self-government, which was at that time cemented by a strong central power. The destruction of

paganism and the introduction of Christianity was less a religious than a political movement, and to this may be ascribed the frequent desire expressed by the people, for the restoration of their ancient rites, since all who professed Christianity were included in the freemen or "nobiles" of Hungary, while the pagans were now reduced to serfdom. It was during this period that the composition of the Diet was determined. It consisted of the high aristocracy or Mag-nates, including the Prelates, who led their men into the field for the service of the king; the "inferior nobiles" (*servientes regales*), who fought under the banner of the King alone, (which service was called the "insurrection," or levy of "nobiles,") and the soldiers or freemen (franklins), who were employed to defend the fortified castles of Hungary.

All these were comprehended under the term "nobiles;" the emancipated serfs and naturalized foreigners, who formed a second class, were not required to perform military service, but possessed no political rights, and were therefore confounded with the serfs or lowest order of the people; they were obliged to pay taxes to the king, and were subject to none but him: out of these have arisen the citizens of towns, and the middle class of Hungary. King Bela insisted on a stricter observance of Sundays, and ordered the markets to be held on Saturdays; Ladislaus enjoined a due observance of all Christian feasts, and while tolerating the Jews, obliged them to keep the Christian sabbath. Coloman forbade the trial of witches, on the express ground, "*that there are no such persons,*" limited the trial by ordeal, and commuted tortures into fines and other punishments. He was surnamed Bibliophilus, for his love of learning, and may be regarded as one of the most remarkable men of the period in which he lived.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of the kings of the house of Arpád.—Stephen II., Bela II., Geisa II., Stephen III., Bela III., Emerick, Ladislaus II., Andrew II., Bela IV., Stephen IV., Ladislaus III., Andrew III.—The Crusades—The Golden Bull—Invasion of the Tartars.

A.D. 1114—1801.

FROM the death of Coloman, the kings of the house of Arpád degenerated in wisdom and valour; the weakness of the monarchs however was conducive to the growth of self-dependence in the people, and prevented the central power acquiring an undue share of influence in the state. Stephen II., the son of Coloman by his first wife, succeeded his father on the throne of Hungary; he was only thirteen years of age, and the kingdom was accordingly governed for him by the Prelates and Magnates of his court. A successful attempt was made by the Venetians, in the commencement of his reign, to gain possession of Dalmatia, but they were repulsed by the Hungarian Magnates, and forced to consent to a truce of five years. This war was scarcely ended, before another was commenced with the Duke of Bohemia, for the possession of some border towns.

Though ambitious to emulate the glory of his ancestors, Stephen inherited neither their virtues nor their capacity. What was in them a desire to increase the power and solidity of the nation, by extending their domain over the unruly provinces which surrounded Hungary, became in him a mere passion for conquest; while at the same time he disgraced the name he bore, by a life notorious for its vices. He led his people on a war of plunder, into the dominions of Duke Leopold of Austria, until the latter was obliged to inflict summary vengeance upon the Hungarians. For many years

afterwards peace reigned between Austria and Hungary, as the subjects of King Stephen opposed all his projects of foreign invasion. In 1122, he was persuaded to marry a niece of Leopold. His luxurious court, or the easy temper of the monarch, induced surrounding princes, driven from their thrones and countries by rebellious subjects or powerful enemies, to seek refuge within his dominions. Resigned to vicious indulgence and pleasure, the only things worthy of note performed by Stephen during many years, were, the foundation of a Benedictine abbey, the confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Dalmatian people, and the conclusion of a treaty with the Duke of Bohemia. The desire for the excitement of war and conquest returning, he engaged in a contest with Russia, for the restoration of a banished prince to his throne. He persuaded his nobles to lend their aid to this enterprise, by an assurance that he undertook it in obedience to the dying injunctions of his father, who had commanded him to revenge some defeats he had once sustained in Russia. The Polish Duke joined his forces to those of Stephen, but was slain in a sally from the chief city, and the King of Hungary, enraged at the death of his friend, ordered his soldiers to risk their lives, to satiate his vengeance against the enemy. But the Hungarian nobles considered it was high time to remind Stephen that he was not a despotic monarch; and meeting in council, they despatched one of their number to acquaint the King with their decision, in these words:—"The city is strong, and can only be taken at the expense of the greater part of our army; and even if you had it in your possession, to whom would you confide the charge of its maintenance and defence? Not one of us will consent to perform this service. You may take the city yourself, and if you please, be prince of Wladimir. But a King, who prefers the uncertain dominion of a foreign country, to the government of his own

kingdom, is not for us. If such be your determination, we shall return and choose another monarch." The nobles accordingly ordered their followers to break up the camp, and Stephen was forced to swallow the affront, and obey their wishes.

During the king's absence several of the nobles who had remained in Hungary had made predatory excursions into Bavaria, and carried away many of the inhabitants. Under the pretext of punishing these marauders, Stephen revenged himself upon those among his subjects who had opposed his expedition into Russia. Fear, discontent, and hatred of the monarch prevailed throughout the land; and among others the blind Duke of Croatia, Almos, fled to Constantinople, and was well received by John Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor. Stephen sent and demanded the expulsion of Almos from the empire; and the refusal to comply with this demand occasioned another war. As his great nobles refused their aid, he was obliged to court foreign alliances, and obtained the assistance of the Duke of Bohemia; notwithstanding which, the Hungarians sustained a signal defeat from the Greeks. Shortly afterwards, Almos died at Constantinople; and Stephen, reconciled to his cousin by his death, demanded his body, which was interred beside his ancestors in Stuhlweissenburg. Conspiracies were now formed to seize the Hungarian throne, and the name of his half-brother Boris, who had married the daughter of the Duke of Poland, suggested fears for his own safety to Stephen. At the instigation of some of his courtiers, he resolved to give a colouring of virtue to an act of self-preservation, and having no son himself, he sent for Bela, the blind son of Almos, and adopted him as his heir, giving him in marriage, Helena, the daughter of a prince of Servia. When reduced by disease to a bed of sickness, Stephen assumed the habit of a monk, and died in the year 1131.

Bela the Second ascended the throne of Hungary without opposition, and was crowned with his Queen Helena at Stuhlweissenburg. His bodily infirmity obliged him to resign much of his power into the hands of those who surrounded him, and his Queen soon obtained an extraordinary influence in the kingdom. She was a woman of a bold and masculine temperament, and cherished a deep revenge for the sufferings which had been inflicted upon her husband in his childhood. Soon after the birth of their second son, a great meeting of the Diet was convened at her desire in Arad, a place she selected because the inhabitants of the surrounding districts professed the Greek faith, to which she also belonged. The Magnates and "nobles" were invited thither from all parts of the kingdom; and when all were assembled, with the blind King seated in the midst, Queen Helena unexpectedly joined them. Attired simply, without the ornaments belonging to her rank, and bearing her two infants in her arms, she advanced with a majestic step. She reminded all present, that while *they* were blessed with the sight of the heirs to the throne of Hungary, the father of these children alone could not behold them; and, after moving the feelings of her audience by an eloquent description of the sufferings of the blind, she appealed to them, by their loyalty to their sovereign, to point out among their numbers, those who had been the advisers of Coloman in his barbarous act. "Rise," she exclaimed, "if you are honourable and valiant men, and execute a deed of justice upon the criminals; by their death you will secure your King, these children, and yourselves from vile conspiracies; consecrate the field of Arad as a place of divine justice, that your descendants may for ever remember that the representative of God on earth is sacred!" As she ended these words her auditors started to their feet, and a deadly combat followed, in which sixty-eight nobles were

left dead upon the field; not all alike guilty, as many fell the victims of private revenge and hatred. The wives and children of the slain were exiled, and their property confiscated, or bestowed by Queen Helena, as a sin-offering, upon the church. That day Boris acquired a numerous accession to his party in Hungary.

When Helena saw the danger which her thirst for revenge had brought upon her husband, she caused another meeting of the nobles to be summoned, in which whoever ventured to assert the legitimacy of Boris was put to the sword. The Pretender was finally repulsed, and King Bela, who had no pleasure in war, contracted various alliances with surrounding princes, by which he hoped to maintain his kingdom in peace. He married his only daughter, Sophia, to the son of the German Emperor, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and soon after died, in the thirty-third year of his age, 1141, leaving Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, to his eldest son Geisa; Servia to his second son Ladislaus; and Sirmium, on the borders of Croatia, to his third and youngest son Stephen.

Geisa was only ten years of age when his father died; the kingdom was therefore governed by a regency, consisting of the Palatine Belus, Aros the King's uncle, and the Archbishop of Gran. At that period the southern region of Transylvania was partly covered with a thick forest, and partly consisted of luxuriant pasture land, in which wild horses, buffaloes, and the aurochs grazed; while, on the rocky summits of the mountains the chamois ranged, undisturbed by the hunter. Reports of the fertility of the soil had reached the Rhine country of Flanders, where, at the mouths of the great river, a hardy people had been long struggling against the encroachments of the sea; and, either invited to Transylvania by the regents of the kingdom, or conducted thither by some adventurous leader, a colony of these Flemings or Germans, wandered across Europe, and

established themselves in the country, which, known in England as Transylvania, was named by them Siebenbürgen. A wild tradition is told of a rat-catcher, who, having succeeded in charming rats to follow him by music, tried the same art on man, and thus led the Germans from their homes, to the far East, where, in remembrance of the seven hills of the Rhine, they called the country Siebenbürgen or Bergen; the colonists were welcomed to Hungary, and were allowed to partake of all the privileges of the "nobles," such as exemption from taxation, the right of electing their own magistrates, &c.

Boris, who had taken refuge in the court of Conrad, vainly petitioned the Emperor to render him assistance to obtain the crown of Hungary. Conrad was too much occupied with his own wars in Italy and Germany to lend aid to others. The Pretender, therefore, appealed to Austria, and a successful inroad was made into Hungary, which, though repulsed, was the commencement of fresh wars. In the year 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux, preached a new crusade in France, and Louis the VII., assuming the cross, resolved in person to lead his warriors to the Holy Land. At the same time a monk, named Rudolph, excited the German people to massacre the Jews, and the presence of Bernard alone saved the unhappy Israelites from extinction. Conrad was at first unwilling to listen to his exhortations, but at Spire, Bernard delivered so eloquent a discourse, that the Emperor exclaimed aloud in the cathedral, he was ready to fight in the cause of God; and with Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and other great princes, received the cross from the hand of the abbot. The following year, seventy thousand knights, with a hundred thousand followers, led by the Emperor, and accompanied by Frederick Barbarossa, who afterwards succeeded his uncle Conrad in the empire, poured into Hungary, on their way to Palestine. They seized upon all they re-

quired, without offering payment, and Conrad himself was not slack in taking advantage of the riches of the land. The Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, alarmed by the report of the conduct of the crusaders in Hungary, joined the Sultan Masud in hopes of destroying the marauders. Soon after their departure, Louis the Seventh of France entered the kingdom, with his army of counts, bishops, abbots, and knights, proving by his orderly behaviour, the superior civilization at that time, of the French over the Germans; while accepting the friendship of Geisa, Louis refused to deliver up Boris who had accompanied his army, but the Pretender hearing of his danger, immediately hastened to Constantinople.

As soon as Geisa had attained his majority, his guardians married him to a Russian princess, Euphrosyne. This marriage caused Hungary to be engaged in perpetual wars in aid of the relatives of the Queen, and as Geisa became also involved in a war with the Byzantine Emperor, there was little peace during his reign.

In 1152, Frederick Barbarossa was crowned Emperor of Germany, and on the day of his coronation, announced to the assembled princes his intention to lead an army into Hungary, and subject that kingdom to the German Empire; but a stronger temptation presenting itself, he altered his determination, concluded a friendly alliance with Geisa, from whom he obtained a grant of troops, and descended upon Italy. Geisa died in 1161, and was succeeded by his son Stephen III., yet a minor, and under the guardianship of his mother Euphrosyne. No sooner had Stephen been crowned, when the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, appeared on the frontiers of Hungary with a large army, to support the claims of his two uncles Ladislaus and Stephen. Euphrosyne with the young King and his brothers, retired for safety into Presburg, and Ladislaus

shortly afterwards assumed the crown of Hungary: he died suddenly at the end of six days, and the greater number of his adherents immediately joined the rightful King. By intrigue and artifice the elder Stephen obtained his own coronation, but the war continuing, he was at length taken prisoner and delivered to the adherents of the young King, who, however, released him, but condemned him to banishment. As soon as he had recovered freedom, he hastened to Manuel to demand his assistance once more, but the Byzantine Emperor thought the costs of such a war, even if successful, too great for its results, and therefore, instead of supporting the claims of the elder Stephen, he sent assurances of friendship to the Hungarians, with an offer of the hand of his daughter Maria in marriage to Bela, the younger brother of the King. Bela had been left by his father the Dukedom of Slavonia, which the Emperor coveted for his own possession, and he therefore proposed that the boy should be educated in Constantinople. The Magnates consented, and he was sent to Manuel, who bestowed upon him the name of Alexius, and promoted him to a high rank in the state. Stephen meantime had succeeded in obtaining a grant of troops from the Emperor, and invaded Hungary once more: he was, however, defeated in a pitched battle, and Manuel concluded a treaty, by which he promised never again to support the claims of the Pretender; on condition that the Hungarians should consent to resign the inheritance of Bela to him. Though Stephen died soon afterwards of poison, Manuel invaded Hungary once more on pretence of claiming Dalmatia for Bela: the war continued for some years with varying fortunes; but while the Emperor of the East was engaged in rousing all Italy against Frederick Barbarossa, and persuading Pope Alexander III. to unite the Latin and Greek churches under one head, and restore the Empire of Constantine, the young

King of Hungary celebrated at Vienna his nuptials with Agnes, the daughter of the Austrian Duke Henry, and his nobles recovered for him Dalmatia, which was already weary of the Byzantine yoke. The Duke having married Theodora, a relative of Barbarossa, a connecting link was thus established between Hungary and the Germanic Empire.

Manuel had adopted Bela as his heir, when the birth of a son caused him to set aside the claims of the Hungarian, and even to dissolve the marriage between him and his daughter Maria: King Stephen of Hungary died in 1172, leaving no children, and the kingdom devolved on Bela as next heir; he received the information of his brother's death from Henry the Lion Duke of Saxony, and the Duke of Austria, who were passing through Hungary on their way to the Holy Land, the night King Stephen died. Bela hastened with a large army, supported by the presence of Manuel himself, to the frontiers of Hungary, there to await the course of events. Ambassadors from the Hungarians shortly arrived at the camp demanding the presence of their King, but, before he departed, the Emperor made Bela promise to cede to him Dalmatia.

Bela III. was crowned King in 1174, and his first act was to place his younger brother Geisa in strict confinement; but their mother Euphrosyne, who tenderly loved the son from whom she had never been separated, contrived his escape. Geisa fled into Bohemia, where, however, the Duke seized his person, and sent him back to Hungary; Bela now placed him in closer confinement than before, and he continued a prisoner for fifteen years. The King next banished Euphrosyne into Greece, deprived one of his nobles of his sight, and deposed the Archbishop of Colocza for having been accessory to the flight of Geisa. His youngest sister accompanied her mother into exile, while the elder married Leopold the son of the Duke of Austria. Having thus se-

cured his throne from all danger of pretensions from his own family, Bela sent assistance to the Byzantine Emperor against the Sultan. As long as he had any reason to fear from Manuel, the King of Hungary was faithful to his engagement to yield Dalmatia to him, but no sooner was the Emperor disabled by sickness, and it was reported that he was preparing to take the monastic vows, than Bela seized on the province, and war with the Venetians followed for the possession of the maritime cities. In 1184 he married Margaret, the sister of the French King; and a few years later commenced the third general crusade. The aged Frederic Barbarossa led his army in person towards the Holy Land, and was accompanied by the Duke of Austria and the Princes of Germany. They assembled at Presburg, and King Bela, escorted by a thousand knights, came to meet them at Gran; Queen Margaret presented the Emperor with a tent hung with scarlet and splendidly furnished, and Frederic remained four days at Gran to celebrate the betrothal of his son, Frederic Duke of Swabia, with Constantia the daughter of the King of Hungary. At the request of the Emperor, Bela released Geisa from his long imprisonment, and gave him the command of two thousand men who were to accompany Frederic to Palestine, he himself following the Crusaders until they arrived in Servia.

The youngest sister of Bela, who had accompanied her mother Euphrosyne to Constantinople, had been married at nine years of age to the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac Angelus, and in honour of so great an alliance, her brother had presented Isaac with the territory which lay between Brannszova and Widdin. The Byzantine Emperor was too weak to maintain his authority, and the land was seized by a Wallack chief, who, on the arrival of Frederic, offered to hold it as a fief of the German Empire. His offer was however refused, but in the mean time Isaac

had thrown the ambassadors of Barbarossa into prison, on the ground that their master was approaching with the intention of depriving him of his dominions. When Bela heard of these transactions, he expected a war between the two Emperors, and as he did not desire to be involved in their quarrels, he commanded all his subjects who had started on the Crusade to return. Geisa, however, proceeded to Constantinople, where he received a wife from the imperial family. Frederic Barbarossa, and his son, the Duke of Swabia, both perished in this expedition. Bela, himself, had prepared for a new crusade, but died before fulfilling his vow in 1196: but his widow, Queen Margaret, undertook the pilgrimage in his stead, and with the Emperor, Henry VI., proceeded to Palestine, where she died at Acre a few months later.

Emeric, the eldest son of Bela, who had married the daughter of Rinaldo, Prince of Antioch, succeeded to the throne of Hungary, but his reign was disturbed by the rebellion of his younger brother Andrew, who claimed the Dukedom of Croatia and Dalmatia. Pope Celestine III. threatened with excommunication all who should support the claims of Andrew, but the Prince treated his denunciations with contempt and seized the provinces he coveted. Emeric sought the assistance of the new Pope, Innocent III., who, at his request, absolved twenty-three Prelates and Magnates from their vow to join the Crusade of Queen Margaret and the Emperor, and thus enabled them to remain in Hungary and restore peace to the distracted country. Soon afterwards the King married Constantia the daughter of Alfonso II., King of Arragon, but the feud between the brothers broke out at intervals, and disturbed the whole of Emeric's reign. The King and the Duke were, however, at length reconciled by Conrad, Archbishop of Mayence, who extorted from them both a vow to join in a Crusade.

The Hungarians wintered in the city of Jadra in Dalmatia, whose possession had long been disputed by the Venetians. The Doge had agreed on this occasion to furnish transports to convey the French army to Palestine, for which the Republic was to receive a large sum of money; as the larger portion of the money was still wanting at the time of their embarkation, the Venetians offered to excuse the payment altogether, provided the French would lend them their assistance in subduing their enemies. The Crusaders did not suspect any concealed design on the part of the Doge, and accepted the condition, but after a month's voyage they were surprised to find themselves in the harbour of Jadra, where the Venetians claimed the fulfilment of their promise, and insisted on their employing their arms to subject all the maritime cities of Dalmatia. In spite of the protests of the leaders, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and Simon de Montfort, Jadra was stormed and taken. The Pope, though indignant at this infringement of their vow, and at the offence given to the King of Hungary, thought it advisable in the present juncture, to grant an easy absolution; therefore, after pretending to excommunicate the offenders, he allowed the matter to be dropped in silence. Before leaving Jadra, the Doge permitted his soldiers to plunder the city, and even the churches, of all the gold and silver they could find, and after destroying the walls and houses they re-embarked for Constantinople. Arrived in the capital of the Byzantine empire, they proceeded to depose and re-instate the Eastern Emperors at their pleasure, and finally stormed and seized upon Constantinople, and established a Latin Empire, which endured for half a century.

Emeric, having submitted to the affront offered him at Jadra, entreated the Pope to secure the succession to the throne of Hungary to his younger son Ladislaus, before he proceeded on his expedition. In return, Innocent insisted

upon his raising another army for the Crusade, and entrusting the command to his brother Andrew, who had thus a force in readiness, by which to assert his claim to the Hungarian throne. He was not long in applying it to that purpose, and the King being unprepared to meet this rebellion, his courtiers advised him to fly. The cowardly suggestion roused all his energies; taking off his armour, and laying aside sword and lance, he placed the sacred crown upon his head, and commanding that none should follow him, he walked alone and unarmed into the midst of the rebel host, and thus addressed them: "Hungarians, behold your King; who among you will dare to dip his hand in the royal blood?" Daunted by his courage, and the majesty of his appearance, all gave way before him until he reached his brother's tent; when lifting up the curtain, he entered, and seizing Andrew with his own hand, led him back a prisoner, through his astonished and awe-struck followers. The war was thus ended, all laid down their arms and returned to their duty, for which they were rewarded by a free pardon. Andrew alone was thrown into prison, and his wife sent home to her parents.

Pope Innocent attempting to interfere in an affair between Hungary and the neighbouring state of Bulgaria, Emeric made a complaint of various grievances against the Holy See. A correspondence between the Pope and the King followed, which however ended peaceably by the coronation of Emeric's son Ladislaus. The king soon afterwards fell dangerously ill, and ordering his brother to be brought to him from his prison, he not only pardoned his faults towards himself, but appointed him guardian of his son, and Regent during his minority.

After the death of Emeric, in 1205, Andrew sent for his wife Gertrude into Hungary: her ambitious spirit craved for the splendour and power of the throne, and she could not

brook the haughty temper of the Queen mother. Their rivalry and hatred at length became so fierce, that Constantia began to tremble for the safety of her son; the Prelates and Magnates advised her to fly with him into Austria, and many of them accompanying her, carried with them the crown and the other insignia of royalty. They reached Vienna in safety, and threw themselves on the protection of Leopold, who assembled an army and approached the frontiers of Hungary; but just as they were preparing for battle, the news arrived of the sudden death of Ladislaus, and Andrew being now undisputed heir to the throne, Leopold withdrew his forces, and sent back the crown and jewels to Hungary. Constantia, more easily consoled than Constance the wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, whose fate hers resembled, returned to her own country, and four years later married the Emperor Frederick II.

The reign of Andrew II., like that of our own John, forms one of the most important epochs in the history of the country. over which he reigned, since from him the nobles obtained their Golden Bull (*Bulla Aurea*), equivalent to the Magna Charta of England. The people of Hungary had, indeed, by their own determination and spirit of independence, and by the wisdom and virtue of the first kings of the race of Arpád, secured in their Constitution the foundation of their liberties; but the power of the sovereign had in the meantime, increased, so as to surpass those limits within which alone the office can be conducive to the happiness and welfare of the community. The ceremony of coronation was considered indeed a necessary condition for the exercise of the royal authority; but though this in some measure acted as a check upon his inordinate power, still all offices and dignities were in the gift of the King, few, if any, being hereditary, and even the Magnates could not prevent the Monarch giving away any part of his dominions.

Wars with Russia and Poland occupied the first years after the accession of Andrew, and much discontent was occasioned in the country by the imperious character of his Queen, who ruled over her husband, and caused her relatives and friends to be raised to the highest places in the state. The marriage of the young Princess Elizabeth, to Louis son of the Landgrave of Thuringia, was solemnized with great pomp at Presburg, in 1212. The period of prosperity to Hungary which had followed the birth of this child made the people look upon her as one favoured by Heaven, and her singular virtues helped to confirm the superstition; her life has formed the ground-work of one of the most beautiful of saintly legends, and after her death she was canonized as St. Elizabeth of Hungary. At her nuptials, Gertrude, assuming the authority of her husband, not only presented the Ambassadors of the Landgrave with rich presents of gold, silver, and jewels, but bid them tell their lord, that if a long life were granted to her, she would send them still greater wealth. The following year Andrew accompanied his son Coloman into Poland, to celebrate his marriage with a daughter of the Duke, and entrusted the regency during his absence to Gertrude and her relations. Time and opportunity favoured a conspiracy against the imperious Queen, and the first attack was made on her brother the Archbishop of Colocza: he, however, escaped with his life, and in revenge he induced the Pope to lay Hungary under an interdict. The people, however, showed small regard for the denunciations of a distant Pontiff, and, irritated by fresh offences, committed by the brothers of the Queen, in which Gertrude appears to have participated, they murdered her in her own palace, and her children only escaped by the care and fidelity of their tutor. Their uncles fled from the country, carrying with them a large amount of treasure collected by Andrew, who bitterly complained of their ingratitude in a letter to the Holy See.

The King shortly afterwards married the daughter of Peter of Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, and made a vow to raise another crusade. The Latin Emperor of Constantinople dying about this time, the choice of a successor lay between the Hungarian King, and his new father-in-law. It fell upon Andrew, and he was invited to take possession of the Imperial Crown, but was dissuaded from accepting the honour by Pope Honorius, who had already crowned Peter Emperor of the East. Peter was opposed by Theodore Comnenus, by whom he was arrested and thrown into a dungeon. The Pope appealed for assistance to Andrew then on his way to the Holy Land: Andrew accordingly proceeded to Acre, which he reached after a long voyage, but his expedition partook more of a pilgrimage than of a Crusade. He was absent from Hungary four years, and returned to find the whole kingdom in disorder, the treasury emptied, and greedy Prelates and Magnates devouring the substance of the people. To replenish his treasury, Andrew appropriated the gold and jewels left by the Empress Constantia, whose death, which took place about this time, prevented her establishing her claim. He further supplied his own extravagance, by farming the taxes to Jews, deteriorating the coin, mortgaging the domains belonging to the fortified castles, and selling the crown lands to wealthy Magnates.

His eldest son Bela had already gained the respect and affection of the people by the firmness of his character, and his love of justice; and Andrew, jealous of his popularity, obliged him to fly the kingdom, and seek protection from Leopold, Duke of Austria. The King was, however, at last persuaded to invite him to return, and in order to secure his throne, he established him at a distance from himself, in the government of Croatia and Dalmatia. Two years later his younger son Coloman took the place of Bela, who was entrusted with the government of Transylvania, and of

all the country between the Theiss and Aluta. With a weak monarch and an exhausted treasury, the land had become the prey of barbarous invaders, and the disorders of the kingdom had reached such a climax, that the Magnates resolved to appeal to the mediation of the Pope: Honorius commanded Andrew to restore the lands which he had parted with, in direct violation of his coronation oath, by which he had sworn to preserve the integrity of the kingdom, and the honour of the crown.

Bela now assembled the "Nobiles" and Franklins of Hungary, and, supported by them, demanded the restoration of the ancient Constitution. The ecclesiastics of Hungary, instigated by the Pope, offered to mediate a peace between the King, who was supported by the great Magnates, and his son, who had the voice of the people. The condition of this peace was, the Golden Bull of Hungary, which was granted in the year 1222. It was here enacted that, "As the liberties of the nobility, and of certain other natives of these realms, founded by King Stephen the Saint, have suffered great detriment and curtailment by the violence of sundry kings, impelled by their own evil propensities, by the cravings of their insatiable cupidity, and by the advice of certain malicious persons, and as the 'Nobiles' of the country had preferred frequent petitions for the confirmation of the constitution of these realms, so that, in utter contempt of the royal authority, violent discussions and accusations had arisen. . . . The King declares he is now willing to confirm and maintain, for all times to come, the nobility and freemen of the country, in all their rights, privileges, and immunities, as provided by the statutes of St. Stephen.

1. "That the 'Nobiles' and their possessions shall not, for the future, be subject to taxes and impositions.

2. "That no man shall be either accused or arrested, sentenced or punished for a crime, unless he receive a

legal summons, and until a judicial inquiry into his case shall have taken place.

3. "That though the 'Nobiles' and Franklins shall be bound to do military service at their own expense, it shall not be legal to force them to cross the frontier of their country. In a foreign war, the king shall be bound to pay the knights and the troops of the counties.

4. The King has no right to entail whole counties, and the high offices of the kingdom.

5. "The King is not allowed to farm to Jews and Ishmaelites his domains, the taxes, the coinage, or the salt mines."*

The Golden Bull comprised thirty-one chapters, and seven copies were made and delivered into the keeping of the Knights of St. John, the Knights Templars of Hungary and Slavonia, the King, the Palatine, the Archbishops of Gran and Colocza, and the Pope. The thirty-first clause gave every Hungarian noble a right of veto upon the acts of the King if unconstitutional. This clause was, however, supposed to give an undue power to the people, and was revoked in 1687.

Those Magnates who by the Golden Bull were compelled to return the land unjustly alienated by King Andrew, formed a conspiracy to overthrow the monarchy, abolish the Constitution and divide the land among themselves; the conspiracy was discovered in time to prevent its execution, but Andrew lost courage and did not venture to insist on his refractory nobles fulfilling their part in the conditions of the Great Charter. He was, however, compelled to ratify it in a Diet held in the Beregher Forest, in 1231, where the Golden Bull was signed and sealed with all solemnity in the city of Gran.

Andrew married for a third time in his old age, Beatrice, daughter of the Marquis d'Este, and died in 1234. During

* See Appendix to Austria, 1343-49. . W. H. Styles, vol. ii. p. 367.

his reign the Court was first held at a fixed place of residence; it was not only composed of Prelates and Magnates, but was frequented by learned men, educated at the schools of Paris and Bologna, as well as within the kingdom. The cities acquired importance about this period, and the condition of the serfs underwent some amelioration.

King Bela the Fourth had been prepared for his office by a long experience in the duties of government. His first act was to rid the country of the tyrannical Magnates and the Palatine, who had been the evil counsellor of the late King. He was seconded in his endeavours by his brother Coloman, and by the chief nobles of Hungary. He even ventured to demand from the monks of the wealthy Cistercian Abbeys, and the powerful order of St. John, and the Knights Templars, a restitution of the crown lands, and with the consent of his Magnates, he declared all grants of the domains of the royal castles made by his predecessors null and void. To evade obedience to the decree of the King, some gave the property of the crown, which they had in their possession to the keeping of various monasteries, and Bela was obliged to appeal to the Pope against this systematic fraud.

An embassy from the German Emperor arrived in Hungary to demand a tribute, which it was asserted had been paid to Frederic Barbarossa, when he passed through the kingdom on his way to the Holy Land. As no such tribute had ever been exacted, it was now refused, and the ambassadors departed with Beatrice, the widow of the late King, who left the country disguised as a man. Soon after her arrival at the court of her uncle the Emperor, she gave birth to a son, Stephen, who afterwards married a daughter of a Venetian noble, by whom he became the father of the last Hungarian King of the line of Arpad.

The severe rule of Bela at length roused the indignation of the great nobles, and they appealed against their king to

Frederic Duke of Austria. Trusting to their representation that Bela was universally disliked in Hungary, the Duke raised a large army, and advanced into the kingdom. He was surprised by finding that he was not joined by a single Hungarian, and intelligence having reached Bela of the conspiracy, he approached to meet him with a numerous host. Three hundred knights preceded him, and the Austrians believing the whole army of Bela was upon them, fled in disorder, carrying their Duke along with them. The Hungarian King advanced to the walls of Vienna, and only consented to peace on condition of the payment of a considerable sum of money. The year following, the Pope commanded Bela to lead a war against Bulgaria, which he had placed under an interdict for having abandoned the Romish faith. Bela, whose sister had married the King of that country, was unwilling to commence hostilities, and entered into a correspondence with the Holy See, which ended by a part of Bulgaria being yielded to Hungary, without the necessity of resorting to arms.

A new danger threatened Hungary in 1240 from the incursions of the Mongols from Tartary. Bela fortified all the passes and prepared to repel the invaders; but in the first place summoned a great Diet at Buda, where he demanded a contingency for the defence of the country. The nobles were only lavish in promises, yet the King assembled an army on the Danube in the neighbourhood of Pesth, and stood ready to meet the enemy who had already entered the country. The Archbishop of Colocza, a man of headstrong and impetuous character, led his followers to the charge before the order of battle was determined, and deceived by a feigned flight of the enemy, became entangled in a morass, and only escaped with four of his men alive from the field. Waitzen was taken by storm by the Tartars, and a dreadful massacre of the inhabitants followed. The Duke

of Austria, who had arrived in Pesth, on pretence of offering his assistance, came almost alone. Determined, however, to revenge his late disgraces before Vienna, and to gain favour with the Hungarian people, he made a sally with his small body of followers, and carried off two of the Mongols prisoners to Pesth. Dazzled by the brilliant daring he had displayed, he was received with shouts of joy in the camp, and believing they had now in their possession one of the chiefs of the barbarians, the pobles resolved to put him to death. In vain Bela remonstrated and endeavoured to protect the prisoner; the place in which he was confined was rudely broken open, the unarmed man murdered, and his head thrown to the people, after which the Duke of Austria returned to his dominions. One misfortune followed another, and Transylvania and Hungary were laid waste by the marauders. The inhabitants fled into the mountains, where they lay concealed from the barbarians for a considerable period, till they were induced to return to their usual occupations by an order sealed by the royal signet, assuring them of their safety. The seal had been stolen and used by the conqueror, and when the land was again cultivated, and all was ripe for harvest, the Mongols fell upon their unsuspecting victims, and sparing only a few of the stronger men whom they retained as prisoners, put the remainder of the unhappy people to a cruel death. These horrors were the more lamented by Bela, as he knew that had the "Nobiles" from the commencement of the invasion, acted with energy and patriotism, the barbarians would have been driven from the land, and that this misery was a consequence of the enervated state of the people, occasioned by many years of misgovernment. The manner in which Bela had endeavoured to restore order and authority in a country, which had been for so long a prey to discord and anarchy, had, in the first instance, been injudicious. His severity had alienated

the hearts of his subjects, who could not prize the stern virtues which they had never learnt to acknowledge. The King was himself at length obliged to take refuge with the Abbot of St. Martin's on the Holy Mount upon the Danube. He was forced to demand aid from the Emperor Frederic II., then in Italy, and to promise him the Hungarian kingdom as a fief of the empire. The Emperor accepted the promise, but sent no assistance against the Mongols, who crossing the Danube on the ice at Pesth with part of their host, laid siege to the Holy Mount, while the remainder proceeded to Stuhlweissenburg; Bela, however, happily escaped into Dalmatia. The Mongols meantime advanced into Austria, which they ravaged and laid waste as they had done Hungary, and it was not till the autumn of 1242, on the news arriving of the death of the great Khan in Tartary, that their leader withdrew his hordes, carrying with them a vast number of captives out of Hungary. When crossing the mountains which separate Transylvania from Moldavia some escaped, and wandered back amidst many dangers to their homes again. On the plains beside the rivers, they found the skulls and bones of those who had perished, while churches and houses lay in ruins, and the stains of human blood were everywhere to be traced. As the cause of the sudden departure of the Mongols was unknown, it was many weeks before the fugitives in the mountains crept out of their hiding-places, or ventured to show themselves in the light of day.

Bela resolved to use the remembrance of past misfortunes as a means to invigorate the people, and raise their moral and material strength. He commenced by reinstating the clergy in their various homes, and then endeavoured to collect their congregations. Herds of wolves and other wild beasts prowled about the country, devouring the corpses which lay scattered in every direction; and famine and pestilence

finished the work of the barbarians. To complete the misfortunes of Hungary, a large swarm of locusts descended upon the plain and devoured the fruits ripe for harvest. The people in desperation murdered each other, and human flesh was publicly sold in the markets. Bela, therefore, sent emissaries to foreign countries, to purchase corn, and cattle, and as soon as the severest pressure of the famine was over, he travelled throughout the country, endeavouring to apply a remedy for all grievances, renewing the charters of the cities, and granting fresh immunities to the people, especially to the German colonists, whose industrious population he was anxious to encourage.

As soon as order was restored, Bela turned his arms against the Venetians, who had taken advantage of the misfortunes of Hungary to seize again on the city of Jadra, but the Mongols threatening a second invasion, the King of Hungary was willing to make peace, and leave the city in possession of the republic. Ottocar of Bohemia, and Rudolph of Hapsburg, both laid claim to Austria after the death of the last Duke, who was slain in battle when fighting against Bela; the King of Hungary took the side of Rudolph who, with his assistance, obtained the dukedom for himself and his family. The Hapsburg dynasty thus owe the position they now occupy to the valour of the very people, whom in later years they have endeavoured to deprive of freedom and nationality.

In 1254 Bela married his son Stephen to Elizabeth, a princess of Cumania, but the young prince was ambitious, and was not contented with the government of Transylvania which his father bestowed upon him. Bela at length consented to resign to him half his kingdom, but even then Stephen was dissatisfied, and the country was only saved from a civil war by his being engaged in a contest with Bulgaria. In 1269 Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, demanded the hand of Mary, the daughter of Stephen, for his son and

heir Charles, prince of Salerno; the nuptials were approved of by King Bela, who thus hoped to obtain an ally against Venice. The death of a younger and favourite son the following year, was so bitter an affliction to the aged monarch, that he followed him to the grave in a few months.

Stephen only survived his father two years, and his son, Ladislaus, was yet a minor when he ascended the throne of Hungary; the following year 1273, Rudolph of Hapsburg was crowned Emperor of Germany, and the Regents of Hungary sent ambassadors to Aix-la-Chapelle in the name of Ladislaus, to claim Austria and Styria for the Hungarian crown. Though Rudolph refused their demand, he expressed his willingness to enter into friendly relations with the young King; and Ladislaus made his first essay in arms as the ally of the Emperor, in a war against Bohemia. In his eighteenth year his marriage with Isabella, daughter of the King of Sicily, was consummated. In 1285 barbarous hordes of Wallacks overran the country as far as Pesth, and were not expelled until their numbers were greatly diminished by famine and pestilence, and many of them drowned in the mountain torrents and the rivers, which had been unusually swollen that year.

When the news reached Ladislaus that the French had been driven out of Sicily, and that Charles of Anjou was dead, he threw off the last vestige of outward respect to his Queen Isabella, whom he never loved; he shut her up in a cloister in the vicinity of Buda, and abandoned himself to a life of vicious indulgence. Passionate and impetuous, he gave frequent cause of offence to his subjects, and even to the church, and the treatment of Isabella further incensed the Hungarian Prelates, who represented the matter to the Pope, and Ladislaus was obliged to consent to liberate his wife. In the meantime, he sent for Andrew, the son of Stephen and a Venetian lady, and grandson of

Andrew II., by his Queen Beatrice d'Este, and named him his heir, bestowing upon him the title of Duke of Slavonia. In 1290, Ladislaus was murdered in revenge for some private injury.

Andrew III., the last of the race of Arpád, was called to the throne immediately after the death of Ladislaus. The news reached him in Dalmatia; he hastened to Hungary, and was crowned in Stuhlweissenburg; but soon afterwards a pretender appeared in the person of an impostor, who assumed the name and title of the deceased brother of the late King. George, Count Soos, a celebrated commander of that time, was sent to drive him and his adherents from the kingdom. The Pope now claimed a supremacy in Hungary, but the King and people refused to acknowledge him; and soon afterwards, Rudolph of Hapsburg declared Hungary a fief of the empire, in virtue of the promise made by King Bela IV. to the Emperor Frederic II., as a condition of his rendering him assistance, in his war against the Mongols. As the assistance had never been sent, the condition remained also unfulfilled, and Andrew, who was by the free election of the Hungarian nobles, as well as by inheritance, King of Hungary, could not receive his crown from the Emperor. Happily, the death of Rudolph, and a rebellion in the dominions of his son Albert, Duke of Austria, prevented their attempting to assert their claims by arms.

Andrew, meantime, neglected no opportunity to establish his throne more securely. He invited his mother, who belonged to the Morosini family of Venice, and possessed great wealth, to join him in Hungary, gave her the title of Queen mother, and placed a royal retinue at her disposal. He bestowed high offices and estates on the most distinguished Nobles and Prelates, whom he appointed of his council, and granted rights and privileges to the influential Magnates as well as to communities. Having secured the

services of George Soos, Andrew sent to Duke Albert of Austria, and demanded the restitution of certain lands he had seized upon, and on receiving a refusal,* he sent an army of eighty thousand men across the Danube, which induced Albert to agree to terms of peace, and to withdraw his soldiers from the Hungarian territory.

Mary, Queen of Naples, sister of the late King Ladislaus, claimed the throne of Hungary for her eldest son Charles. She was at that time with her husband, at Aix, in Provence, and she was supported in her pretensions by Pope Nicolas. Though the Pope's death occurred shortly afterwards, the Legate crowned the Neapolitan Prince, King of Hungary, and he hastened to Dalmatia to claim the allegiance of the maritime cities of that province, but they refused to acknowledge a second king, and though some of the Hungarian Magnates intrigued to substitute Charles for Andrew, their plot was discovered before it was ripe.

Andrew endeavoured to improve the state of the provinces by a wise administration of the revenue. He travelled in all parts of the kingdom to ascertain its real condition, and required that the oldest inhabitants and men of well-known honesty, should appear before him and the Magnates of each county, and render an account of the crown lands in their district, and of the domains appertaining to the royal castles; their present and their former extent, the time and reason for their alienation, and the title of the actual possessor. This strict censorship raised many enemies to the King, and to protect himself against them, he formed alliances with foreign princes. In 1294, Celestine V. became Pope, and as he was attached to the King of Naples, he immediately acknowledged Charles, King of Hungary; during his short reign, and that of his successor, Hungary had little to fear; but a more dangerous opponent presented itself in Boniface VIII. Charles did not long survive; but his son Charles

Robert inherited his father's claim and the Papal protection. The death of his Queen, left Andrew with only one child, a daughter, Elizabeth, and he married for the second time, Agnes, the daughter of Albert, Duke of Austria. The adherents of Charles increasing in Hungary, were excited to rebellion by the incessant intrigues of Mary, who in the Papal bulls was already called Queen of Hungary. Andrew was determined to make a last effort to check this spirit. He assembled a great Diet at Pesth, at which all the Prelates and Magnates were present, with the exception of Gregory, Archbishop of Gran, who had been created by Boniface Apostolic Nuncio in Hungary, and had adopted the cause of the boy Charles Robert. The object of the Diet was to confirm the royal power, to free the "Nobiles" from the oppression of the Magnates, to secure freedom to the church, and a confirmation of the rights of all classes in the state. It was resolved to hold another great Diet the following year in the field of Rákös, on the left bank of the Danube. This was the first Diet held in the open air, and a more numerous assemblage of Magnates was collected even than at Pesth. A message was sent to the Archbishop of Gran, inviting him also to attend, but the haughty Prelate refused, and threatened the rest with excommunication, and even degradation. He allied himself more closely than ever with traitors and rebels, and withdrew behind the Drave, where, as Papal Nuncio, he deposed the bishops from their dioceses, and proclaimed Charles Robert King of Hungary. In the commencement of the year 1300, the boy king was brought to Dalmatia. In the meantime, Andrew visited various parts of his dominions, and tried every means to secure his throne, but that of submission to the Pope, who confirmed the nomination of Charles Robert, who was that same year crowned by the Archbishop of Gran at Agram, the capital of Croatia. The rest of the Prelates remained

faithful to their legitimate sovereign, which made it impossible for the rebels to get possession of St. Stephen's crown, or of the royal insignia. As winter approached, Andrew sent to all his faithful subjects, including the ecclesiastics of Hungary, commanding them to prepare for a campaign in the spring. His energy, youth, and popularity made his success probable, and the rebels determined not to await the decision of their cause by a recourse to arms. They therefore bribed one of his servants to poison him, and thus died Andrew, the last male heir of the Arpádian dynasty, in 1301. After his death, Queen Agnes was thrown into prison, where she continued until her father, the Emperor Albert, sent an army to Hungary to insist on her liberation. She and her stepdaughter Elizabeth were finally delivered to him. Agnes retired to a cloister in Switzerland, while Elizabeth, released from her vows to Wenceslaus of Bohemia, followed the example of her stepmother.

The Arpádian dynasty had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Hungary. According to Gibbon : "The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpád reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary : the free born barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state." No country of the continent of Europe had more boldly asserted its independence of the Holy See, even in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; under their national kings, the interests of the sovereign and of the people had been the same ; and, occupied with internal matters, they had seldom interfered with the general politics of Europe. A new era was opening upon Hungary, with the accession of the first King of the house of Anjou.

CHAPTER V.

*Kings of the houses of Anjou, Luxembourg, and Austria.—
Charles—Louis the Great—Mary—Sigismund—Eliza-
beth—Albert—Ladislaus—Invasions of th. Tarks—
John Hunyady.*

A.D. 1301—1457.

THE right of Charles Robert was disputed first by Wenceslaus of Bohemia, grandson of Bela IV. through his daughter Anna; and secondly by Otho of Bavaria; until in 1337, at a great Diet held on the field of Rákos, he was finally elected King. The following year Cardinal Gentilis di Montefiori arrived in Hungary as Papal Nuncio, with a secret message from his Holiness, requiring the new King to acknowledge that he held his kingdoms of Hungary and Naples as fiefs of the Holy See. The Hungarians were however prepared for such attempts, and were determined to resist all encroachments from Rome. A great assembly of Nobles was convened by the Legate to meet in Pesth, at the feast of Advent. The Cardinal placed the young King (who was remarkable for his personal attractions) by his side, and addressed the people in a discourse in which he expatiated on the dutiful conduct of St. Stephen towards the Holy See, and maintained that he had received his crown and kingdom solely as a donation from the Pope. From this argument he deduced that the Hungarian people should in that present time, accept their King Charles at the command and from the hands of his Holiness. Loud murmurs of dissatisfaction followed his oration, and his auditors declared they would maintain their independence to their last breath, and that neither the church of Rome, nor the Papal nuncio, should ever impose a king over them; but having elected him of their own free will, they did not object to receive the ratification of their choice from Rome.

Gentilis briefly assured them, that such was what he intended by his discourse; upon which all pressed forward to swear fealty to the young monarch, and after they had raised him in their arms, and named him ruler over Hungary, the Cardinal caused the *Te Deum* to be chanted before the assembled people.

The meeting on the field of Rákos had not, however, terminated the strife which agitated Hungary. The Palatine Matthias, nominated to his office by Wenceslaus of Bohemia, continued to oppose Charles, and the Woiwode of Transylvania kept possession of the crown of St. Stephen, which he had seized before the election of the King. The Legate laid Transylvania under an interdict, which, however, did not produce the desired effect, and he therefore had a new crown made and consecrated, with which the ceremony of coronation was performed for the third time; Charles having already been crowned at Agram and at Gran. The people however could not regard him as their rightful king, until the crown of St. Stephen had been placed upon his head, which the Woiwode of Transylvania was at length prevailed upon to resign. A second Diet was in consequence held at Rákos, where Charles was again elected King, and crowned for the fourth time with great pomp, in August, 1310.

The people were weary of civil war and anarchy, and the new reign commenced under happy auspices. The King surpassed all the Magnates of his kingdom in refinement of manners and cultivation of mind, and therefore delighted in the society of priests and monks, who could sympathise with his intellectual pleasures. While the rebellious Palatine Matthias was still supported by some of the great Nobles, the ecclesiastics of the kingdom were faithful in their allegiance to Charles; and after much blood had been shed on both sides, Matthias was defeated in 1318, but the manner of his death is uncertain.

Charles took up his abode in the fortress of Viségrad on

the Danube, which he enlarged and embellished until it became one of the most magnificent royal residences in Europe. Having been twice married already, he for the third time contracted a marriage with the Polish Princess Elizabeth. Her brother Casimir, when visiting the Queen, grossly insulted one of her maids of honour, the beautiful daughter of Felician Zacs, a distinguished Hungarian Magnate. Her father inflamed with passion, and eager to revenge his child, entered the palace with a drawn sword, not finding the object he sought, and mad with rage, he cut off four fingers of the Queen's hand, and even attacked the King. Charles took a fearful vengeance upon the unhappy man and his whole family, causing him to be cut to pieces, his son to be dragged to death at a horse's tail, and while his injured daughter had her nose, lips and fingers cut off, and was paraded through the town, her sister was beheaded, and her husband starved to death. The rest of the family were either banished from Hungary, or reduced to serfdom, in order that none might remain, to bear witness against the royal Prince Casimir.

Upon the death of his grandfather Charles Martel, the King of Hungary put forward his claim to Naples, but the Pope decided in favour of his uncle Robert, who promised to leave the kingdom at his death to one of the sons of his nephew. He accordingly invited Charles to visit Naples, an invitation which was readily accepted; there, in 1380 his youngest son Andrew, was betrothed to Joanna, daughter and heiress of King Robert of Naples, and his elder brother Louis to her younger sister Mary. The young Prince Andrew, was left in Italy, while his father and brother returned to Hungary.

In the meantime Casimir had ascended the throne of Poland, and was attacked in his dominions by the Knights of the Teutonic Order who ruled in Prussia;* Casimir

* The Prussians (Letti) made irruptions into Poland 1138. The

appealed to the arbitration of Charles, who being a more skilful diplomatist than warrior, mediated a peace between the contending parties. In 1339, Casimir visited Charles in Visegrád, and adopted his nephew, the young Prince Louis of Hungary, as his heir in the kingdom of Poland. Frequent disputes with Austria disturbed the latter years of King Charles' reign; but they were at length settled by arbitration in 1342. Charles Robert did not long survive the restoration of peace, but died in the fifty-fourth year of his life, after a reign of thirty-two years. He had laboured more for the aggrandizement of his house than for the Hungarian people, and had maintained the power of the crown, against all encroachments of the aristocracy; but the prosperity and internal peace which the country had enjoyed during his reign, with his many estimable qualities, had won for him the affections of the people, who sincerely mourned his loss. He introduced various innovations, the most important of which, was the feudal system which had long prevailed in the rest of Europe, but which hitherto had only been partially observed in Hungary. Instead of trusting to the royal castles with their hereditary garrisons who were sufficient for the defence of the country, he decreed that all persons living under the protection of the castles, and all landed proprietors, should furnish their contingent to the general armament, while the great nobles themselves were obliged to serve in war as the vassals of the King. A regular tax was for the first time levied upon the peasantry, while the towns, or royal boroughs, received peculiar privileges, commerce was encouraged and gold first coined in Hungary.

After five days spent in mourning for the deceased mo-

Teutonic Knights conquered the Prussians 1281. The Prussians were
quently extirpated, and the country peopled by Germans and

narch, his son Louis was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg. He was only seventeen years of age, but was beloved by the people for his personal and mental endowments, and his chivalrous sense of honour. He united a serious and earnest character to all the fire and energy of youth, and his manners were dignified, yet courteous. The affairs of Naples soon called his attention from those of his own kingdom. His uncle Robert had died in his eightieth year, and his cousin Joanna had succeeded him on the throne at sixteen years of age. She heartily despised her youthful husband, the brother of the King of Hungary, and did not offer any remonstrance when he was strangled by her cousins, the Prince of Tarento and Charles of Durazzo. When the news reached Louis of the barbarous murder of Andrew, he appealed to the Pope to discover the perpetrators of the deed; and when Clement hesitated to comply, the King of Hungary marched an army into Italy, and sent envoys to Rienzi, Tribune of Rome. Rienzi consented to act as mediator, but Louis would not brook any further delay, and entered the Neapolitan territory. The Queen, deserted by her subjects, fled into Provence, and Louis immediately assumed the title of King of the two Sicilies; he endeavoured to restore order to the kingdom, and after punishing with death Charles of Durazzo the principal murderer of his brother, he commenced reforms in the administration of law and justice, which soon effected a change in the manners and conduct of the people. The affairs of Hungary, however, made it necessary that he should return thither, and accordingly he departed, leaving a Hungarian garrison in Naples. An insurrection against his Vicegerents immediately followed, and Joanna with her new husband Louis Prince of Tarento, returned to take possession of the kingdom.

The Venetian Doge, Andrew Dandolo, about this time

laid siege to Jadra, whose citizens had thrown off the yoke of the Republic, and acknowledged the King of Hungary as their sovereign. Louis, perceiving the necessity of strengthening himself by Naples, in order to secure possession of Dalmatia, proceeded to Vienna and requested the alliance of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, and Duke Albert of Austria, to support his pretensions on the Neapolitan Crown. But the troops he had in the mean time sent to the assistance of the citizens of Jadra, had been corrupted by Venetian gold, and only made a feint of resisting the enemy. The unfortunate inhabitants sent repeated messages to Louis, representing their situation, and just as he was himself preparing to march to their aid, news arrived that the Venetians had succeeded in breaking the chain which protected their harbour and had seized on the citadel, and on one of their strong fortresses. When Louis arrived before the walls of the city he swore either to save it from the enemy, or to bury his bones beneath its ruins; but his enthusiasm gradually cooled, as his desire to march his troops to Naples warmed, until after a vain attempt at storming the citadel, he abandoned Jadra to its fate, and advanced once more into Italy in 1850. After taking several cities by storm he at last got possession of the whole country round Naples, but he was soon made aware that the Neapolitans would not peaceably submit to the rule of a Hungarian King; the Pope having absolved Joanna from her crimes, and re-instated her as Queen of Naples, Louis returned to Hungary, having wasted the blood of his people and the treasure of his kingdom, in a vain attempt to avenge his brother's death, and to gratify his personal ambition. The immediate consequence was, that the King who had magnanimously refused the expiatory sum which the Pope had ordered Joanna to offer him, as an indemnity for the loss of the kingdom of Naples, did not

hesitate to defray the expenses of his Italian campaign, by imposing a heavy tax upon the people of Hungary. One-ninth of the produce of the peasants' labours was allotted by the King to the Nobles, to compensate for the losses they had incurred on his account, and the tax became so oppressive as seriously to injure the agricultural interests of the country; it was only abolished by the Batthyany Ministry of 1848. The same Diet which consented to this tax also decreed that the landed proprietor was no longer to be permitted the free disposal of his own land, but that all property was to be considered as belonging to the family, and not to the individual then in possession; therefore that it could not be sold or alienated, but on the failure of male and female heirs was to revert to the crown. All "nobiles" whether Magnates or otherwise, were for the future to be placed on a footing of equality, and all who had fought under the banner of the King in Italy, were declared free.

A second war with Venice terminated fortunately for Hungary, and at its conclusion the Republic consented to surrender its claim on Dalmatia. In 1370, Louis was crowned King of Poland, at Cracow; and after appointing his mother, Elizabeth, Regent, returned to his Palace of Visegrád. The propagation of the Romish faith was one of the great objects of his desire; but though he met with success in most of his attempts at conversion, his forcible introduction of that form of Christianity, was resisted with determination by the Wallacks of the Greek persuasion: Another aim of Louis was, to unite Poland and Hungary into one great and powerful kingdom, and thus to form an eastern barrier against the barbarism which existed beyond the confines of Europe.

In 1382, Louis presented to the Diet his only daughter and child, Mary, as the future Queen; and with her, her betrothed husband Sigismund, son of the Emperor Charles

IV. of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia. Louis died soon after, having reigned forty years in Hungary. He introduced many excellent reforms in the laws, and confirmed others, especially that of the right granted to the peasantry in the Diet of Rákos, under Andrew III., by which they were permitted to quit the estates of their lords, at their pleasure, and take up their residence elsewhere.

The foreigners, who had settled in Hungary in vast numbers after the devastations of the Mongol Tartars had reduced the number of native Hungarians, had acted beneficially on the country: an Italian colony first cultivated the vines of Tokay, and discovered the excellence of the soil for the production of the finest wines; and manufactures, commerce, art, and science, flourished under the Kings of the house of Anjou. The Academy of Veszprim was founded about this period, and many young Hungarians were sent to complete their education at Paris and Bologna. Such was the respect paid by Louis to the Church, that at his death the number of Prelates which, under St. Stephen, consisted of one Archbishop and six Bishops, were increased to thirty Archbishops and eight hundred Bishops.

As Mary, and her husband Sigismund, were still young, her mother Elizabeth, with the Palatine Gara, assumed the regency. Mary was crowned under the title of King at Stuhlweissenburg; but the Hungarians, by nature a war-like people who despised all peaceful occupations, were not long contented to see their government in the hands of a girl of sixteen, and while they regarded the Slavonic Palatine Gara with jealousy, they were equally averse to falling under the rule of Sigismund, whose native country of Bohemia had always been at war with Hungary. Although he was the betrothed husband of Mary, some began to look towards Charles of Durazzo, King of Naples, who had married Mary, daughter of the last Stephen, of the

race of Arpád. A rumour of a plot to effect his elevation reaching the ears of the Palatine, he advised Mary and her mother to retire into Dalmatia, where they took up their abode in Jadra. Gara next advised the Queen to court the favour of the Hungarian people by ratifying the Charter of Andrew III., before it was demanded of her by the Diet. In the mean time Sigismund hastened to Poland to claim that kingdom; but the insolent demeanour of the boy, who was only fifteen years of age, so disgusted the Poles, that they resolved to assert the independence of the kingdom, set him aside, and offer the throne to Hedwiga, sister of Mary, on condition of her uniting herself in marriage to a prince of their choice, who would consent to reside in Poland. The Queen mother was unwilling to part with her favourite daughter, and equally unwilling to have Sigismund established in the kingdom of Hungary; she, therefore, tried to evade the proposition, by offering her son-in-law as Regent in Poland for Hedwiga. She furnished him with an army and money, but he had neither courage nor ability to assert his claims, and he returned to Hungary to endure the reproaches of his wife and of her mother. Elizabeth was at length obliged to consent to send Hedwiga to Poland, where the charms of her person and of her mind, won all hearts. Sixteen months after her arrival she was crowned Queen. Her mother had betrothed her to William, the son of the Duke of Austria, to whom she had formed an attachment; and when her subjects proposed to unite her with Wladimir, a semi-barbarous Duke of Lithuania, whose conversion to Christianity was only to be a consequence of his marriage, she endeavoured to avoid compliance. On being informed, however, that the welfare of the whole nation depended on her consent, she yielded her personal feelings to her sense of duty, and her marriage with Wladimir accordingly took place. Elizabeth

having failed in her schemes for Hedwiga, now tried to bring about a separation between Mary and Sigismund, who was as little loved by his intended wife as by the Hungarian nation. She sent to Charles VI. of France to demand the hand of his brother, Louis of Orleans, for the Queen of Hungary ; but her Ambassadors arrived too late, as the Prince had already been united to Valentina of Milan. In the mean time Horváth, Bishop of Agram, had been deputed by the discontented nobles of Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, to offer the crown to Charles the Little of Naples, next male heir to Louis. Charles accepted the offer, and, landing in Dalmatia, proclaimed that he had come to liberate the Queens from the restraint under which they were held by the Palatine Gara. It was in vain that Mary, for a second time, ratified the Golden Bull of Andrew in the assembly of her people ; the brilliant promises of Charles held out more attractions than the ratification of a Charter, to which no new franchise was added. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, and half-brother of Sigismund, offered his assistance to the unhappy Queen, provided Mary would consent to fulfil her engagement to the latter, and receive him as guardian of the kingdom. The marriage was accordingly consummated, but the comparison between a worthless youth of seventeen, and an accomplished Prince like Charles of Naples, who had besides attained years of discretion, did not aid the cause of the young queen. As Charles approached the frontiers of Hungary, Sigismund fled into Bohemia, and Elizabeth deeming it the wisest course to yield where resistance was vain, sent ambassadors to the Neapolitan, to inquire whether he came as an enemy or as a friend ; as, in the latter case, she and her daughter would gladly receive him as their protector. Charles replied in the same spirit, and when he met the Queens at Buda, they invited him to take up his abode in the royal palace.

He immediately named himself governor of the kingdom, and summoned a Diet of all the Hungarian nobles. The Diet answered his expectations, and he was unanimously elected King of Hungary. A message was sent to the Queen, demanding her abdication, but Mary steadfastly refused. "Never," she exclaimed, "will I consent to resign the crown of my fathers, for myself, or for my heirs, but I will not hinder you from treading the path of error which you have chosen, and as you still honour the memory of my father Louis, I demand from you a free passage to Bohemia, where I purpose to join my husband.* Her mother, Elizabeth, however, fearing the consequences of her daughter's conduct, soon after presented herself in the Diet, with an assurance that further consideration had convinced Mary that a woman was incapable of sustaining the burdens of government, and therefore she was willing to resign her claim to Charles. The new monarch, in return for this concession, promised to look upon Elizabeth as his mother; and Mary as his sister; and it was proclaimed from county to county, and city to city, that the Queen had abdicated by her own free will. Charles further insisted on the two Queens being present at his coronation, in Stuhlweissenburg, and that, in their altered position, they should receive with him all the Prelates and Magnates of the kingdom. The imprudence of this step was soon manifest; the ungenerous conduct of the new King appeared the more glaring, beside the beauty and patient endurance of Mary; the hearts of the people were touched; and when, during the ceremony of the coronation, the Queens prostrated themselves in tears on the grave of King Louis, the nobles repented having abandoned them for a foreign monarch. Fatal omens attended the accession of Charles; the banner of St. Stephen was rent as he left the church, and a few days later a storm and earthquake destroyed part of the palace.

Elizabeth was meantime engaged in a secret conspiracy against the life of the King; and one day, under the pretence of desiring to speak with him, she and Gara obtained an interview, during which, at a given signal, the cupbearer drew a sword and wounded Charles in the head, though not mortally. A general insurrection of the people followed, and the King was thrown into a dungeon, where, his wounds beginning to heal, Elizabeth ordered him to be strangled. The following day Mary was again proclaimed Queen of Hungary, and shortly afterwards Sigismund entered the country with several bands of Bohemian soldiers, whom he quartered at Raab, while at the same time the Margrave of Moravia took possession of all the land between the Waag and the Danube, which Sigismund had pawned to him. The Queen as well as the Magistrates were indignant at this usurpation, and Mary applied to Wenceslaus to remonstrate with her husband; the Margrave was, at last, induced to retire, on the Queen of Hungary consenting to pay the debt owed him by Sigismund. To Sigismund himself she assigned the revenue of the recovered land, on condition of his leaving her sole Regent of the kingdom.

In the meantime the great nobles of Croatia were determined to revenge the death of Charles. The news of their rebellion alarmed the Queens, but the Palatine maintained their fears were groundless, and advised them to change their residence to a town on the borders of Croatia, in order to throw discredit on the report. They travelled with a small retinue as if secure from danger, but on their journey they were surprised by the Croats, who surrounded them, and after a short resistance, the Palatine and the cupbearer, who had been employed to murder Charles, were both beheaded in the presence of their mistresses; they themselves were dragged from their carriage, and

the nobles who led the attack, overwhelmed them with reproaches for the deed to which they had consented. Elizabeth fell on her knees, and confessing her own guilt, exonerated her daughter from all participation in, or even knowledge of, the crime before it had been perpetrated. No answer was vouchsafed, but the Princesses were ordered to be conveyed to a strong castle in the mountains. The news of their arrest was conveyed to Margaret, the widow of the late King Charles, who was still at Naples. Eager after revenge, she demanded the Queens should be delivered to her alive. The Magnates meantime assembled at Buda, anxious to choose some head under whose banner the strength of Hungary could be united, and therefore named Sigismund captain or chief of the nation; but instead of immediately proceeding to Buda, the Prince entered Croatia. The Queens had been brought down to the coast of Dalmatia, with the intention of despatching them by a fleet to Naples, but the Venetians, adopting their cause, laid siege to the castle where they were confined. The Prior of Vran who had them in charge, at length caused Elizabeth to be strangled in the presence of her daughter, and her body to be thrown over the wall to the besiegers. Sigismund made no further attempt to rescue his Queen, but retreated into Hungary, where the Magnates, assembled at Buda, were perplexed how to act best for the interest of the country: some supposed Mary to be dead, others maintained that, if alive, she was incapable of carrying on the government, and all were agreed as to the necessity of union under one head. Sigismund, supported by the Venetian ambassador, was finally elected King by his own adherents, and without the consent of the Diet being asked, he was crowned by the Bishop of Veszprim, in Stuhlweissenburg, in 1387.

He immediately demanded troops to suppress the rebellion in Croatia, and liberate the Queen; the troops were

granted, and success attending their arms, Mary was brought in triumph to Buda, where her first act was to put the leader of the rebellion to a slow and cruel death. Though Sigismund bore the name of King, the youth, beauty, and misfortunes of Mary had gained the hearts of her subjects, over whom she in reality ruled; he, on the other hand, was looked upon with suspicion by the people, and was not even loved by his wife. His sole passion was the accumulation of wealth, which he wasted again in extravagant pleasures.

The Turkish Sultan Murad, or Amurath I., had, in 1360, conquered a large portion of the Greek empire. He was murdered by a Servian soldier, and Bajazet succeeded in 1389; the new Sultan spread terror throughout Eastern Europe, and crossing the Danube advanced into Moldavia. He was invited into Hungary by the Wallacks who had risen in rebellion against Sigismund and Mary, at a period when the young Queen of Poland, engaged in a war against her sister, threatened the country from the north, and had seized the province of Galicia. In 1396 Bajazet conquered Bulgaria, and penetrating into Wallachia, laid siege to Lesser Nicopolis. Sigismund assembled an army, and recovered the city; but the rejoicings at his victory were stopped by the news of the death of the Queen, and he returned to Hungary to take possession of the kingdom in his own right. He immediately caused thirty-two of the most distinguished among the adherents of the Pretender Ladislaus, the son of the murdered Charles, to be executed; and then, assembling another large army, which was joined by knights from all parts of Europe, he advanced again to the attack of the Turks. Bajazet still occupied Greater Nicopolis, when on the 28th of September 1396, was fought that disastrous battle in which the Christian army, composed of Burgundians, French, Italians, English, and Hungarians,

were completely routed by the Turks. Twenty thousand Christians lay dead upon the field, as many more were carried away captives, and from that day Hungary became the theatre of war, where the Mohammedans and Christians struggled for ascendancy.

The party of Ladislaus had in the mean time gained in numbers and strength, and an attempt was made to place him upon the Hungarian throne, but Sigismund secured the leader of this rebellion by treachery, and executed him without the form of a trial. His intrigues with his relatives the King of Bohemia, and Margrave of Moravia, to obtain for them the succession in Hungary, being discovered by the Magnates, they arrested Sigismund, and confined him in his own palace, only liberating him on condition of his promising for the future, to abstain from every illegal or arbitrary act.

Ladislaus about this time approached the frontiers of Dalmatia, but Sigismund, at the head of a large army obliged him to retire. The King of Hungary shortly afterwards added Bohemia to his dominions, and was crowned Emperor of Germany.

Internal schisms distracted the Church in the commencement of the fifteenth century, and more than one claimant asserted his pretensions to the Chair of St. Peter. A Council was called at Pisa in 1408 to endeavour to reconcile the disputants, but another general Council was required before all matters could be adjusted. Pope John XXIII. invited Sigismund to decide on the place of meeting, and he fixed on Constance as the most central spot in Europe. Treacherous in all things, the Emperor granted a safe conduct thither to the Bohemian Reformer, John Huss, who, by trusting to his faith, died a martyr in the year 1415.

During the absence of the Emperor, Naples and Venice had seized on several of the maritime cities of Dalmatia; and in 1419 the Hussite rebellion broke out in Bohemia;

upon Sigismund imperiously demanding the succession for himself and his heirs. That same year the Hungarians, conducted by the celebrated warrior John Hunyady, surnamed Corvinus, gained a signal victory over the Turks. The origin of John Hunyady is wrapt in obscurity: he is believed to have been a natural son of Sigismund, who presented his mother with a ring, and promised her that whenever she appeared before him, with her child, he would bestow upon him riches and honour. She was one day preparing for her journey to the court, and had trusted the boy with the ring, when a crow descending, snatched it from his hand, and flew with it to a neighbouring tree; the child's uncle perceiving what had happened, shot the bird, and brought the ring back safely; the incident obtained for John the surname of Corvinus. The King presented him with the domains of Hunyad, from whence his appellation of John Hunyady. He had already made himself famous by his victories against the Turks when Sigismund died in 1437.

Though unprincipled, treacherous, and prodigal, the Emperor left Hungary in an improved condition. The royal authority which was recovering an undue share of power under the late monarchs, had lost much of the halo which surrounded it, while the power of the aristocracy had been diminished, or at least counterbalanced by the privileges granted to the royal boroughs, now first allowed to send representatives to the Diet; and the peasantry were encouraged to settle in the towns. Thus the three orders of the state became more evenly balanced in their political relations, than under the predecessors of Sigismund.

Sigismund left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who had been married to Albert, Archduke of Austria, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Hungary, to which Albert was also elected in 1438, on condition of never accepting the imperial crown, and leaving the disposal of his daughter's hand to the Hun-

garian Diet. Notwithstanding his promise, he became Emperor of Germany soon after he had obtained the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, but died that same year, after an unsuccessful expedition against the Turks. His widow, Elizabeth, gave birth to a posthumous son, Ladislaus, but though her right to the throne had been acknowledged, the Hungarians refused to be governed by a woman and a child, and a party was formed against her, even before the birth of Ladislaus.

In this critical hour, John Hunyady laid before the Diet a full account of the dangers to which the country was exposed. The Turks threatened them from the South; a contest for the possession of the Bohemian crown was preparing in the West, Poland was not yet reconciled to Hungary, and Red Russia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, were undetermined which side they would support; while the Turkish Sultan had already invited King Wladimir of Poland to enter into an alliance with him. To provide against these accumulated dangers Hunyady proposed, that Elizabeth should be requested to marry Uladislaus the son of Wladimir, who had only just attained his sixteenth year, while the Queen had already passed her thirtieth; and that the child of Albert should, with the consent of both nations, be named heir to Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, while Poland should be the appanage of any children born to Uladislaus. The proposal was loudly applauded, but the Queen, anxious to avoid so unsuitable an alliance, took refuge with the Archbishop of Gran; and though she consented to an embassy being sent into Poland, requested that the ambassadors should return immediately if her child should prove a boy. The condition was accepted, and when Ladislaus was born on the 22nd of February following, the Hungarians joyfully welcomed a native Prince. John Hunyady alone did not partake in the general congratulation, but anticipated the evils

which must ensue upon a long minority. The ambassadors also refused to leave Cracow with their mission unfulfilled, and Uladislaus finally accepted the proffered kingdom; the proposed marriage was not however mentioned, and while Uladislaus, now King of Poland, was detained by a rebellion among his subjects, Elizabeth hastened to Stuhlweissenburg, where her child was anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Gran. The crown jewels were then delivered up to the care of the Governor of Viségrad, but Elizabeth substituted a false crown for that of St. Stephen, which she retained in her own possession. Two months later Uladislaus arrived in Hungary, where he was welcomed by Hunyady and some of the most eminent men in the kingdom. They declared the coronation of the young Ladislaus void, and prepared for that of Uladislaus; but the sacred crown was nowhere to be found, and in its place the new King was crowned with the diadem taken from the relics of St. Stephen himself.

Elizabeth vainly endeavoured to raise an insurrection in favour of herself and of her child, and finally sought refuge with Frederic III. of Austria, who, after an unsuccessful expedition into Hungary, agreed to peace, on the mediation of the Pope. John Hunyady defeated the adherents of the Queen in Croatia, and was in reward named Count of Temesvar, and Governor of Belgrade; but, hearing that the Sultan was in the act of sending an army into Transylvania, he hastened to Weissenburg, on the river Maros, where he arrived before the enemy; as the Turks approached, Hunyady, who never awaited an attack, charged them with impetuosity; but his troops were surrounded and overpowered by their numbers, and were finally obliged to retreat. While the enemy advanced through Transylvania, plundering all the country, the Hungarian "nobles," the Szekler population, and the German colonists poured in to the

assistance of the inhabitants of Weissenburg. This news reaching the Turkish general, he immediately prepared for battle. He had not long to wait: the Hungarians charged their ranks, and misled by the appearance of one of Hunyady's faithful followers who had exchanged armour with him, the Moslems believed in their own victory when they saw him fall; but the real Hunyady, taking advantage of the success of his stratagem, attacked them with renewed vigour, until he had chased them from the field, leaving their general and his son, with twenty thousand, dead. On hearing of this defeat, the Sultan Amurath was roused to vengeance, and immediately sent another army into Transylvania, bidding them not return until they had subdued the whole country. Hunyady again called the Hungarians and Szeklers to his aid, and met the enemy as they passed the mountain boundary of Transylvania. The name of Jesus was the war-cry of the Hungarians; the Turks gave way before the impetuosity of their attack, and another victory crowned the arms of Hungary. Soon after the enemy had been chased from Transylvania, the peace between Ulasdislaus and Elizabeth was concluded, but the Queen only survived the termination of her struggle for power a few days, and died in December, 1443.

Her death so quickly following the peace, occasioned unworthy suspicions to be circulated, respecting the manner of it; and the hatred of parties was rather increased than diminished by this circumstance. John Giskra, who had been her champion during the war, still maintained his position near Kaschau; the Moslems threatened another invasion from the south, and Frederic of Austria, as the guardian of the young Ladislaus, was expected to lead an army into Hungary, to support the claims of his ward. A Diet was summoned to meet at Buda, in which it was resolved to lead a Crusade against the Turks, but first

to secure the peace of the kingdom against Giskra, and protect the frontiers from the threatened invasion of the Duke of Austria. An attempt at negotiation with the latter ended in a truce of two years, to which Giskra was at last induced also to consent. The attention of all Hungary was now turned towards the war against the Mussulman. A new ally was found in the celebrated George Castriot or Scanderbeg, the son of John Castriot, prince of Albania. His father had been conquered by the Turks, and had given his four sons as hostages for his fidelity; the three eldest had been reduced to slavery, but George, the youngest, then only nine years of age, had been instructed in the Koran, and had been taught the mode of warfare in use among the Moslems. His gallant bearing and bold feats of arms won for him the confidence of Amurath, which he fully justified in the wars against the Christians of Europe. An opportunity, however, at last presented itself by which he was enabled to throw off the Mussulman yoke, and return to his home and his country. The commander-in-chief of the troops among whom he served, was taken prisoner by the Hungarians, and George with the Turkish officer next in command, saved themselves by flight. When passing through a waste and desolate country, George observed the number of attendants upon his companion were fewer than his own, who were all Albanians in the pay of Amurath. He accordingly attacked him, and compelled him to write an order in the name and under the seal, of the commander in chief, desiring the governor of the city of Kroya to deliver his charge into the hands of one Scanderbeg, the bearer of the letter. He then put the officer to death, and rode on with his companions; and having obtained possession of the city by treachery, he declared himself to be the hereditary prince of Albania, and ready to revenge the injuries his people had sustained. The

Albanians flocked to his standard, and the Turkish garrisons around were soon obliged to yield to his arms, or submit to baptism. His subjects brought him money, and he soon had an army in the field of fifteen thousand men, with which he was prepared to encounter the Turkish forces of forty thousand strong, who were advancing to punish his temerity. Ulasdislaus sent to congratulate him on his success, and acquainting him with the preparations for war in Hungary, Venice, Genoa, and the Papal dominions, he invited him to join their armies. In the mean time, Amurath had been tampering with the Despot of Servia, who accepted his bribes, and deceived even the gallant Hunyady as to his intentions. Hunyady had already spent thirty-two thousand ducats of his private property on the war, and this year added sixty-three thousand more; but the intrigues of the Servian Despot finally succeeded in procuring an advantageous peace for the Turks, before the first lance had been broken. Just as peace was concluded, news of the arrival of the Italian fleet in the Hellespont, made the Christians repent their too hasty acquiescence. The assembly was all confusion, some declared that the oath they had made to the Pope, and to the western Princes, obliged them to carry on the war as a holy Crusade; others maintained, they were bound in honour to fulfil the conditions of the peace just concluded. Cardinal Cesarini, the Pope's nuncio rose, and in a sophistical, but to the ears of the Christians of those days, plausible speech, demonstrated that a treaty with Amurath, injurious to the rights of the church and the honour of the Hungarian people, was not binding, but in its nature impious, impossible, damnable, and therefore null; that it could be violated without any conscientious scruple, and ought to be so, for the security of Christendom. His oration was received in silence, none felt wholly satisfied, till Ulasdislaus, gave his consent at once

to break off all further parley, and to lead his soldiers against the unbelievers. To the honour of the ecclesiastics of Hungary, only three out of fourteen bishops who were present at the meeting, and not a single other dignitary of the church, consented to countenance this violation of oaths even to the Infidel; in the autumn of that year, the King with twenty thousand men crossed the Danube at Orsova. He was vainly warned of the superior forces Amurath would send against him, when he learnt his infringement of the treaty. The Italian priest, and even John Hunyady urged him to proceed, though the Despot of Servia refused to join his ranks, and a message arrived from Scanderbeg, that he had been frustrated in an attempt to enter Servia, and therefore could offer no assistance. Soon after the Hungarian army had passed the range of the Balkan, the Turks came up with them at Varna. Cardinal Cesarini advised the King to avoid a battle, but Hunyady was of a contrary opinion. "A quick decision," he said, "surmounts or conquers dangers; delay increases it both in idea and in reality. We must decide between victory, death, or flight." None ventured to contradict the great warrior, and the battle was ordered for the following day. The valour of Hunyady at one time nearly secured the victory to the Hungarians, but jealousy of his superiority caused dissension among the leaders themselves, who in the very midst of the fight refused to submit to his guidance, and while he was yet engaged with the enemy, excited the young King to disobey his injunctions, and attack the janizaries of Amurath. Amurath saw and seized his advantage; Ulasdislaus was slain by one of the Sultan's guards, and many fell beside his body; Hunyady himself at last gave up the day as lost, and turned with shame to fly. He, with other fugitives, crossed the Danube in safety, but the Cardinal perished by the way.

When Hunyady arrived in Transylvania, he was treacherously seized by the Woiwode who had received him with an appearance of friendship. He expected a ransom either from the enemies or the friends of the hero; but, disappointed in both, he at length set him at liberty, loading him with rich presents, and sending him under a safe escort into Hungary. There he found the country rent with new factions. One party asserted, that Ladislaus was still alive; and the eye-witnesses of his death, Hunyady and others, were only partially believed, when they related a different story. With some difficulty, the Palatine was induced to convoke a Diet in 1445, in which it was resolved, that if Ladislaus was really dead, the young Ladislaus should be crowned King of Hungary; and in the mean time that the country should be divided into districts, whose administration should be confided to seven great nobles, including John Hunyady. Three Diets were held in this year, the last at Stuhlweissenburg, where it was determined to compel Frederic of Austria, now King of the Romans, to give up Ladislaus. In the beginning of 1446, another Diet was held in the field of Rákos; and the choice of a Regent, during the minority of Ladislaus, unanimously fell upon John Hunyady. One of his first acts was to lead twenty thousand men to the frontiers of Austria, to demand the young king and the crown of St. Stephen. Frederic and Hunyady both appealed to Pope Eugenius; but as the truth and honour of John Hunyady were above all doubt, Frederic received no encouragement from his Holiness. After much time spent in threats and negotiations, the King of the Romans still kept his prize, and Hunyady was obliged to accept peace on his terms, in order to preserve the kingdom at least on one side from invasion.

As long as Hunyady had been on an equal footing with the rest of the Magnates, his influence and power had exceeded

that of any man in Hungary; but his elevation to so high an office as that of Regent had offended those who prided themselves on the length of their genealogies, and intrigues against his government became frequent. To divert the attention of the Nobles into another channel, he recommenced war against the Turks, in support of his valiant ally Scanderbeg. The war was unsuccessful; but his absence had been so disadvantageous to Hungary, that on his return he found the haughty Magnates were more willing to submit to his authority. By the mediation of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, Frederic of Austria at length consented to restore Ladislaus and the crown of St. Stephen to Hungary, provided the young King was suffered to remain in Vienna, until he had reached his eighteenth year.

Giskra continued to harass the kingdom in the North, and even conspired with the Bohemians against Hunyady; but a truce of three years with the Turks, secured peace in the South. Hunyady, who was desirous to retire from the cares of government, again requested Frederic to send Ladislaus to Hungary, but he received only an evasive reply, and learned that the Duke intended to take the boy with him, on a journey to Rome. The Austrians were themselves averse to the heir of their dukedom leaving the country; and Albert, the brother of Frederic, headed the party opposed to his project: but Frederic, with Ladislaus, reached Rome in spite of all opposition, and was there crowned by His Holiness, Emperor of the West. The Hungarian and Austrian envoys met him at Florence on his return, and Ladislaus himself appealed to the Pope for his liberation; but Nicholas exhorted him to remain with his guardian the Emperor, laid Austria under an interdict, and forbade Hunyady to hold any intercourse with rebellious subjects. * The Pope's Bulls had little effect upon the people, and Frederic appealed for aid to the Stadtholder of Bohemia. War was immediately kindled, but the Em-

peror was obliged in the end to yield, and resign Ladislaus to the care of his great uncle Ulrich, Count of Cilly, who joined the faction supported by Albert. The Count of Cilly was an ambitious and bad man, and determined to use all arts to demoralize the young King, in order to obtain complete power over him; but the better nature of Ladislaus, or the habits of sobriety and strict conduct he had learnt under Frederic, enabled him to resist the temptations thrown in his way. He was told to beware of Hunyady as the most dangerous man in his kingdom, who had betrayed the great Nobles of Hungary to the Moslems, and sacrificed the life of Ulasdislaus at Varna; but during a temporary absence of Count Cilly, the Hungarian Prelates, in the Court of Ladislaus, instilled into him more correct notions concerning the Regent, which the young King was ready to receive, as the grave and decorous manners of the Hungarians impressed him more favourably than the gay and pleasure-seeking Austrians.

In February, 1453, the King entered Presburg, where, though only thirteen years of age, he received the homage and oaths of fealty from the assembled nobles. Ladislaus however appeared uneasy in the midst of his subjects, and the more they entreated him to remain, the more he expressed a desire to return to Vienna. The intrigues of Count Cilly succeeded in again shaking his confidence in Hunyady, and in a Diet held at Pesth he confirmed a deed depriving his old and faithful subject of the power which had been entrusted to him; on pretence of doing him honour, he at the same time bestowed upon him large tracts of land in Transylvania, sufficiently removed from the seat of government, to prevent all further interference on his part. Hunyady willingly resigned an office of which he had been long weary, and believed that he left his country united and strong under its lawful sovereign.

Constantinople had already fallen before the Sultan Mahomet II., when in the Diet of 1451, Ladislaus took counsel how to protect Hungary against the formidable power of the Turks. Servia was menaced, and its Despot, the son of the former enemy of Hunyady, sought refuge in Transylvania, and entreated his aid. The old warrior did not hesitate to comply with the request, and crossed the Danube to encounter the unbelievers once more. While he was thus employed, the Palatine, a second Gara, left the whole government in the hands of a council composed of creatures of his own. Hunyady, informed of these transactions, sent warning to the advisers of the King. Alarmed for the safety of the kingdom, they proposed the recall of Hunyady, and his re-appointment to the regency; but soon afterwards, Cilly, who had been out of favour, regained his former position with Ladislaus, and, having established the King at Vienna, persuaded him to invite Hunyady to court, who, however, refused to quit the kingdom; Ladislaus fancied himself affronted, and sent Cilly to seize the person of the Regent, and bring him by force to Vienna; but Hunyady met the favourite with a band of two thousand men-at-arms, and defeated his project. Again Count Cilly attempted to entrap him, but though the Regent only this time brought a suite of forty knights, a thousand of his followers lay in ambush, who surrounded Cilly, while Hunyady reproached him with his treachery.

In the hope of reconciling one of the contending parties within the kingdom, the Regent united his eldest son, Ladislaus, to the daughter of his enemy, the Palatine Gara. Those who regarded Hunyady as the champion of Christendom, petitioned Ladislaus to discard his unworthy favourites, and the Prelates at length succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. Hunyady promised to resign all the castles and fortresses he possessed in the interior of the kingdom, and to undertake the defence of the southern frontiers, now

threatened by Mahomet, while the King promised never again to listen to the slanders of his enemies, and to receive the youngest son of the Regent, Matthias, as a page, among the noble youths who attended in his court.

In a Diet held at Raab, a Franciscan friar, by name John of Capistrano, preached repentance of sins, and exhorted the Hungarian nobles to unite for the defence of Christendom. Hunyady offered to bring ten thousand men into the field at his own cost, and had others been as faithful in the fulfillment of their promises, the Turks might never have succeeded in maintaining their dominion in Europe. The new Pope, Calixtus, prepared a fleet for the Archipelago, and Scanderbeg received large sums from Rome to aid in raising his army; but Ladislaus still hung back. Once again Hunyady pleaded the cause of Hungary and of Europe, in the Diet held at Buda in 1456, and exhorted the King to use active measures before it was too late. A few days afterwards, news arrived of the approach of Mahomet, and that Belgrade, the citadel of Hungary, was menaced. The general voice of the people implored Hunyady to hasten to its defence, and under condition that his younger son Matthias should accompany him, he consented. In June, Mahomet arrived before Belgrade; but instead of sending succour to Hunyady, Ladislaus retired with Cilly to Vienna; while a panic seized on the whole nation, and all who could, sought security in castles, mountains, and caverns, abandoning their honour and duty, their religion and their country. In the meantime Hunyady, with his little band of brave warriors, encamped near Belgrade, to observe the enemy. Fortunately he was there joined by some thousand Crusaders, and was thus enabled to attempt a decisive stroke. His first object was to throw provisions into the fortress, and form a line of communication between the city and the water. In this he succeeded, after a skirmish in which five hundred of the

enemy were slain. He then established himself at Semlin, where he could watch the operations of the Moslems, and could receive reinforcements. By the active exertions of the Franciscan friar, aid was sent him from the several European nations, and by the end of July he had so exhausted the patience of the besiegers, that Mahomet, despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize. The hero was not permitted long to survive his last victory : the plague had broken out in the camp at Semlin, and Hunyady, then eighty years of age, was attacked with the disease. Perceiving the approach of death, Brother John of Capistrano acquainted him with his danger. "Holy Father," he replied, "I am prepared for my journey; my whole life has only been a preparation to receive that Friend who is to lead me to the throne of my Omnipotent King. I have served Him faithfully, and amidst all the storms and perils of life maintained the post of duty upon which He placed me. He will graciously receive His soldier worn out in His service, and grant him rest in the dwellings of His saints." Then turning to his sons Ladislaus and Matthias, he added, "Let the actions and the example of your father bear fruit in your hearts; continue in the path of uprightness and virtue which I have pointed out to you as the safest; I leave you the fear of God, and the love of your country, as an abiding inheritance; all else that falls to you from me belongs to fortune." He requested to be carried into the church, and there, after a short death-struggle, he expired, while the priests chanted psalms around the dying hero. His remains were deposited, according to his wishes, in the cathedral of Weiskirchen.

Cilly imagined that the death of Hunyady would place him on the pinnacle of his glory. The King, anxious to wipe out the shame of his flight to Vienna, hastened to Belgrade with a band of Crusaders; he found Ladislaus

and Matthias Hunyady in the city, the walls of which the former had repaired at his own expense. They invited the King to take possession of the fortress; but their sovereign had listened to the base insinuations of Count Cilly, and accepted his offer to rid the country of the sons of Hunyady; the offer was reported to them by their friends, and Cilly was himself attacked and slain soon after his arrival at Belgrade. Elizabeth Hunyady, the widow of the deceased hero, attired in deep mourning, appeared before the King, and pleaded on her knees for the pardon of her sons; he raised and embraced her, and endeavoured to dispel her fears, though in his heart he vowed vengeance for the death of his uncle. After presenting her and them with splendid gifts, he ordered that every kind of amusement should be provided; the days were spent in the chase or in parties of pleasure, dances and knightly sports; but the mind of Elizabeth was not thus to be tranquillized, and she doubted the sincerity of one who loaded with favours those who had slain his beloved friend and uncle. Informed of this, King Ladislaus went through the ceremony of a formal reconciliation. A few months later, a plot was laid to induce the Hunyady to join in an act of seeming disobedience to the King; they were arrested with many of their friends and thrown into prison; their trial was short, and before sunset the eldest Hunyady was led to execution. "God is my witness," he exclaimed, when on the scaffold, "God is my witness, before whose judgment-seat I am sent, that I would willingly have given my life for my country and my King. I am innocent of the guilt for which I must now die the death of a criminal. May He who, in his almighty wisdom, orders the fate of mortals, forgive the King and my enemies as I do now." The executioner gave him three blows with the axe, without being able to sever his head from his body, when the young man (the love of life still strong within him), started to his

feet, and ran some steps towards the palace, where the King sat in a window to witness his death; and appealed to him for mercy. "King," he cried, "the hand of the executioner gives the lie to my accusers; the worst malefactor has suffered the penalty of his crimes after three strokes of the axe, and who would dare to condemn me, who am innocent, to a fourth?" As he ended these words he fainted from loss of blood, and the King, appalled at the hideous spectacle, was unable or unwilling to speak. Another signal was given from the palace, and the executioner completed his work.

After the death of his brother, Matthias was imprisoned in a fortress. Their relatives, indignant at their fate, resolved to revenge it. Their uncle, Michael Szilágy, seized upon Transylvania, and their mother Elizabeth conducted an army into Hungary and proclaimed war on the King. Ladislaus, who was aware that by his treatment of the Hunyady he had inspired the people with hatred, retreated to Vienna, carrying with him Matthias as his prisoner. On the journey thither, the Austrian courtiers ridiculed the unhappy youth. "You begin too soon, young sir," they said, "to aim at being King of Hungary." To which Matthias fearlessly replied, "If I am spared to live a little longer, I will with certainty be your King also." Ladislaus offered Elizabeth her only remaining son, if she would resign the fortresses of Hungary to him, but she answered, she would sooner deliver them to the Moslems, and demanded unconditionally the liberty of Matthias.

The King had few on whom he could rely in Hungary; the German Emperor had already commenced a quarrel with him about some disputed territory, and the Turks were making great preparations for another campaign. He hoped to gain a powerful ally in Charles VII. of France, and for that purpose sent ambassadors thither, to demand the hand of his daughter Margaret, but scarcely had they departed before Ladislaus died suddenly, in a manner which gave

rise to a suspicion of poison. Immediately upon his death, various claimants aspired to the throne; Casimir, King of Poland, pleaded the right of his wife Elizabeth, the sister of the late King, while Anna, another and an elder sister, the widow of Duke William of Saxony, maintained her prior claim; the Palatine Gara who had married the aunt of Ladislaus, and even the Emperor Frederic III., had each some reason to adduce why the crown should be bestowed upon them. A Diet was the same year convened at Buda, where the Nobles asserted their ancient right of free election. Michael Szilágy, with the army of his sister Elizabeth Hunyady, consisting of twenty thousand warriors, appeared upon the field of Rákös, bearing the banner of the Hunyady, and demanded the election of his nephew Matthias to the vacant throne. The proposition was received with a burst of joyful acclamation, and Matthias was forthwith, in the year 1457, elected King of Hungary.

CHAPTER VI.

Matthias Corvinus—Ulasdislaus II.—Louis II.

A.D. 1457.—1526.

THE government was at first confided to Michael Szilágy, but when Matthias perceived that his uncle proposed to rule despotically and dispense with the laws, he caused him to be arrested, and deprived of all power. Though only sixteen years of age, he took the reins of government into his own hands. The country had been in latter years a prey to oligarchical factions; the single chamber, of which the Diet had been hitherto composed, had been divided into two, and the Magnates had formed themselves into a separate body, apart from the inferior "Nobiles" and representatives of the towns. Though magnificent in his tastes, Matthias resolved to introduce a strict economy in

the public purse; and while a friend to liberty he soon showed himself to be a severe ruler, and unflinching in his determination to resist all encroachments from the aristocracy.

The Emperor Frederic III. still maintained his claim to the kingdom of Hungary, and war was therefore declared by Matthias, who at the same time stedfastly refused the proffered alliance of Mahomet II. After reducing Servia and Bosnia to subjection he entered Austria, and marched to the gates of Vienna; here he obliged Frederic to restore the crown of St. Stephen, which he still retained in spite of his promises, but for which Matthias now generously offered him a large sum of money in compensation.

On the death of the Queen, Catharine of Bohemia, the Princes of Europe sent letters of condolence, to which Louis XI. of France added rich presents. Formidable insurrections among the Wallacks in alliance with Mahomet next engaged the attention of Matthias, and these had scarcely been repressed, when he was commanded by the Pope to lead a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, had taken them under his protection, and the interference of Matthias was as much a war against the government of the country, as against a sect of religionists. The lust of power may, therefore, have added fuel to the zeal of fanaticism. Matthias was crowned King at Stuhlweissenburg with the crown of St. Stephen in 1464, and in the Diet held the same year at Agria, the war of extermination against the Hussites was formally declared. It was on this occasion that he raised his celebrated Black Legion, the first standing army in Europe, which was always kept under arms, and formed the nucleus of the levies which joined his standard. But in the first place he had to alter the manner of raising the supplies, and to increase their amount. Accordingly, he prevailed on the Diet to fix the taxes which were to be levied on the peasantry, and to

tax the clergy and nobles under the cover of a voluntary subsidy for extraordinary expenses. His generals, Zapoyla, whose family became famous in Hungarian history, Blaise, Magyar, and Paul Kiniszy, were men of acknowledged prowess and daring. The Catholics of Bohemia joined the standard of Matthias. Horrible atrocities were committed on both sides, and the Hussites retreated or were destroyed by the Hungarian arms. Podiebrad vainly resisted the invaders, and in a few weeks Matthias was elected King of Bohemia at Olmutz, the capital of the Provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. In 1471, Podiebrad died, and the Bohemian Diet then offered their crown to Ulasdilaus, son of Casimir, King of Poland. The attention of Matthias was engaged with his wars with the Moslem; the Sultan had seized on Negropont, and the Venetians applied for succour to the King of Hungary. Matthias refused to assist them, unless they, in the first place, restored to him Dalmatia, which they had gained possession of in the reign of his predecessor. The encroachments of the Sultan on his territory, however, forced him into a war for the protection of Slavonia and Croatia. He, himself, led his army, and contributed to its success by his cool courage and skill. On his return to Hungary, he celebrated his second nuptials with Beatrice of Naples, a proud and ambitious Princess.

Immediately afterwards, he again attempted to oblige the Venetians to restore Dalmatia to Hungary, but was called in another direction by a large army of Moslems which again approached the frontiers of Hungary. The appeal of Matthias to the nation for assistance was readily responded to, and one of the most tremendous battles took place between the Christians and Turks, recorded in Hungarian history. They met on the plains of Kenyermezö, in Transylvania, where the Woiwode Bathory received six wounds, and would have been slain had not Paul Kiniszy rushed forward with

a drawn sword in each hand, and rescued him from the enemy. The valour of the general inspired the troops, who drove the Turks into a hasty flight, leaving a large booty behind them. Matthias believing that he would have no further occasion for his famous Black Legion, sent them to Naples to assist his father-in-law against the Turks: but the Emperor Frederic invading Hungary, the King was obliged to send another army into Austria, which, after taking many cities, besieged and gained possession of Vienna itself in 1485. As Matthias from this time took up his abode in the Austrian capital, he fulfilled his own prophecy, that he should one day reign over Austria itself.* As he felt his health declining, he entrusted the government of Vienna to Stephen Zapolya, and set out to attend the Diet at Breda. His natural son, John Corvinus, was here proclaimed heir; and shortly after Matthias had returned to Vienna, he was seized with apoplexy, and died in 1490.

While mourned by the people who had bestowed on him the title of The Just, the oligarchial factions of Hungary rejoiced in his death; for they had long been weary of the thralldom in which they were held by this severe though virtuous monarch. Matthias frequently summoned the Diet during his reign, and though permitting the great Nobles to retain the dignities belonging to their class, he was always anxious to advance merit, wherever it existed. For the first time the power and duties of the Palatine were strictly defined; the criminal law was reformed, and active measures were taken to repress the robbery and violence of lawless Nobles. Many of the Magnates, finding the standing army of the King rendered their services less necessary, retired to their castles, and lived in ease and luxury on their estates. The corrupting influence of a life of indolence and pleasure, became apparent in their descendants, while it

* See p. 88.

tended at the same time to weaken the real power of the aristocracy. Luxury of every kind increased during the reign of Matthias, who encouraged arts and manufactures by the magnificence of his palace, and of his mode of life. Painters, goldsmiths, and artists were invited into Hungary, and chief among them, Fra Filippo Lippi, the scholar of Masaccio, with his son Filippino. Such was the splendour of the table of the King of Hungary, that the Pope's nuncio when describing it, declared it would take fifty carriages to contain all the plate of massive gold, adorned with precious stones. When a Hungarian ambassador was sent to France he was escorted by three hundred youths of the first families, dressed in scarlet and covered with diamonds, mounted on horses, all of the same size and colour. In his royal palace of Buda, Matthias had copies of all the celebrated statues in Europe, and his greatest delight was in reading the classic authors of antiquity: he spoke Latin, French, German, and Italian with equal fluency, and was the intimate friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of other great men of that age. He founded the Royal Library at Buda, which was divided into three compartments, one of which contained the richest store of oriental literature then in existence, and the two others, ancient and modern Latin works. He also founded the University of Presburg, and introduced the first printing press into Hungary in 1470. One of his great works was a college near Pesth; the principal building was divided into two spacious courts in seven stories each, and it was intended to accommodate forty thousand students, maintained at the expense of the crown. Seven great halls, furnished with lamps and desks, were destined for lecture rooms, and the Professors had also their dwelling houses within the walls; even physicians, apothecaries, and baths were provided for the sick, and every arrangement made for the domestic economy. The King was himself an author, and wrote several poems,

in which he displayed a knowledge of the classics, and a deep and tender feeling.

The crown of Hungary was again contended for by various claimants, while the Nobles continued to assert their right to elect their own sovereign. John Corvinus, who added to his father's virtues a character devoid of ambition, willingly resigned his claim and supported the choice of the Magnates, which fell upon Ulasdislaus II., King of Bohemia. The widowed queen, Beatrice, who was unwilling to resign the royal dignity, offered herself in marriage to Ulasdislaus, and was accepted; but so rich a prize as Hungary was not to be quietly abandoned, and Albert of Poland, the Emperor Frederic, and his son Maximilian, took up arms to assert their several pretensions. The loss of Vienna and the whole of Austria followed, but Ulasdislaus was maintained by his Magnates as lawful King of Hungary; he was thirty-four years of age when he was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg in 1490; he was by nature indolent and easy tempered, reserved and cunning, yet without the capacity to govern.

Selim, the Turkish sultan, had been defeated by the skill and valour of John Corvinus and Paul Kiniszy, and a truce of three years had been agreed upon, when the Pope instigated the Hungarians once more to join in a crusade against the Moslems. The peasantry, under the pretence of obeying the mandate of the Holy See, flew to arms; but their real object was soon apparent when they turned upon their oppressors, the Nobles. The insurgents inscribed "God and liberty" upon their banner, and commenced the work of extermination; their protector, Matthias, was no more, and since his death they had been burdened with heavy taxes, and had been sorely oppressed. At the head of the movement was a Szekler peasant, George Dosza, who had already distinguished himself by his valour against the Turks, and who now

preached the doctrine of equality to his followers; an equality, not of rights and privileges, but of rank, wealth, and property, to be acquired by the subversion of the existing order of things, and the massacre of all who had the misfortune to be rich. The ancient valour of the Nobles seems to have forsaken them in this hour of danger, and they fled into the walled towns, until, perceiving their very existence threatened, they armed to resist the insurgents. Placing themselves under the command of John Zapoyla, Woiwode of Transylvania, they finally defeated the peasants in a battle near Temesvar. Having taken their leader, Dosza, alive, they determined to wreak a dreadful vengeance upon him; he was seated on a throne of red hot iron, and a red hot crown placed upon his head, his flesh was torn from his body by pincers and thrown to his followers, who had been kept without food for some days, and were forced to devour it. Dosza endured the torture with a heroism worthy of a martyr, and died without uttering a groan. The Nobles having thus punished the ringleader, reduced the whole of the peasantry to serfdom, and, though they were gradually emancipated, two centuries elapsed before their former rights were recognized.

The period of tranquillity which followed enabled the King and his magnates to collect, in writing, the common law of the land, entitled, *Jus Consuetudinarium Regni Hungariae*. It was presented to Ulasdislaus in the Diet held at Buda in 1514, and was there solemnly confirmed; the same Diet decreed that his son Louis should succeed to the Hungarian throne. By the death of Ulasdislaus in 1516, Louis, at ten years of age, was acknowledged King of Hungary and Bohemia. During his long minority, the aristocracy completely recovered the influence and power which they had lost under Matthias.

In the beginning of 1517 Leo X. persuaded Maximilian

of Germany and Francis I. of France to prepare a new Crusade,* and sent an Augustine monk to invoke the assistance of the King of Hungary, but the death of Maximilian in 1519 put an end to the whole project. The disputes, jealousies, and rivalries of the Palatine Bathory and John Zapoyla, Woiwode of Transylvania, occupied the period of the regency, until, in 1521, Louis assumed the government himself, and celebrated his marriage with Mary the sister of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, while his own sister Anna, was united to Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the Emperor. Wasteful, thoughtless, and extravagant, Louis had all the desire, without the capacity to rule. Solyman the Magnificent had ascended the Turkish throne the year before Louis attained his majority, and sent an embassy with proposals of peace to the King of Hungary. They were rejected with scorn, and the bearers of them maltreated, upon which the Sultan immediately commenced hostilities. The rash and imprudent conduct of the King was not confined to his treatment of foreign Princes, for he cared little at whose expense he gratified the whim of the moment. An instance of his caprice is related, as follows. On the demise of any one of the Hungarian Bishops, the revenue of the bishopric reverted to the treasury of the state, until a successor was appointed. Hippolytus d'Este, Bishop of Erlau, died, leaving a debt upon the property amounting to forty thousand gulden, occasioned by the fraudulent conduct of the manager. This man had the good fortune to possess a falcon which was coveted by the King, and in consideration of his handing over to him the bird and its keeper, Louis forgave him the whole sum.

In 1522 Louis and his Queen were crowned at Stuhl-

* The sale of indulgences for this Crusade, roused Luther openly to protest, against the abuses of the Church of Rome.

weissenburg, and from that time her stronger character supported and guided him in the conduct of his government. Suliman had in the meantime laid waste Sclavonia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and seized on Belgrade; and the German Emperor himself began to feel alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turk in Europe. He therefore assembled a Diet at Nuremburg in 1523, to which Louis also sent ambassadors. The dangers to which Hungary was peculiarly exposed, induced the nobles at the next Diet in Buda to order an examination to be made into the state of the exchequer. But the Queen, indignant at their presumption, herself drew a line through the resolution when it was presented to the King; the Diet, however, insisted on their right, and the investigation brought to light, such a system of fraud and misdeeds by which the treasury had been exhausted, that they only voted a subsidy for the war, on the express condition that the King should promise to employ the money solely for the defences of the country. The Queen continued, however, to encourage Louis in arbitrary measures, and in resisting the will of his people. Disgusted by the oppressive rule of the Magnates, the lesser "Nobiles" offered to support the King against both the rival factions of Bathory and Zapoyla, if he would consent to remove those officers who squandered the public money, and to banish all foreigners from his court; but Louis refused to countenance them, or comply with the condition demanded.

Suliman the Magnificent had now reached the frontiers of the kingdom, and the Pope who had long watched the impending danger with anxiety, sent a sum of money to Louis to expedite his movements. The Turks crossed the Danube and the Drave, but the King still delayed to commence his march, until, urged by the Archbishop of Colocza, he took the field with an army of not more than twenty thousand men, and encamped at Mohacz. It was vain for Zapoyla to

entreat Louis to wait till he could join him with his forces; yielding to the self-confident impetuosity of the Magnates who surrounded him, he offered battle to the Moslems on the 29th August, 1526. The fatal combat commenced, and in spite of the valour of the Hungarians, which made the Turks doubtful of their own victory even after the battle was won, the army was totally annihilated. The larger number fell by the sword of the enemy, and the remnant was engulfed in the surrounding morasses. The Archbishop of Colocza, seven Bishops, and twenty-eight Magnates were left dead upon the field. The King, while endeavouring to effect his escape, attempted to leap a rivulet, but his horse, being heavily caparisoned, stumbled and fell, and so severely bruised his rider, that he expired a few moments after being dragged from under the animal. His attendants were obliged to abandon the body of their master and secure their own safety by flight, and it was two months before his remains could be discovered. Suliman marched to Buda, where he burnt the library of Matthias Corvinus, and after laying waste the whole country, and committing many atrocities on the people, returned to Constantinople with two hundred thousand Hungarian captives.

With the battle of Mohacz ended the government of the native Princes of Hungary; and the struggle had now to commence between the principles of despotism and constitutional liberty. As in material things that which is of least value often rises to the surface, so in history the most conspicuous are not always the most excellent or characteristic features of a great nation. We have seen recorded the struggles for power, and how the few grudged the many the rights they themselves enjoyed. We have read, with some few but noble exceptions, of weak and wicked kings, and of haughty and unprincipled nobles, men truly cast upon the surface, to pass away with the age to which they belong;

but beneath this apparent degeneracy lay a deep and enduring foundation of solid worth and excellence in the body of the people, whose natural leaders had yet to be united to them by a period of adversity. Years were now approaching in which the aristocracy were to be schooled into better things, and to be roused from their dreams of selfishness and ambition, to become true patriots, and to join with the whole nation in the common cause of freedom and justice.

CHAPTER VII.

Kings of the House of Hapsburg.—Ferdinand I.—Maximilian.—Princes of Transylvania.—John Sigismund Zapoyla.—Stephen Bathory.

A.D. 1526—1576.

WHEN the news reached Queen Mary of the defeat at Mohacz, and the death of the king, she immediately secured her own safety by leaving Presburg and entering the fortress of Buda; from whence she despatched a letter to her brother Ferdinand of Austria, informing him of the disaster, and proposing that he should take possession of the vacant throne of Hungary.

John Zapoyla meantime hastened to secure his own interests by promises of high offices to all the most influential Magnates of the kingdom: to confirm his election he proposed that a great meeting should be held at Stuhlweissenburg, on pretence of paying due honour to the remains of Louis, and to which he invited the Queen. Instead of appearing, she wrote more urgently than before to Ferdinand, Zapoyla having been elected by the people, and crowned by the only bishop present at the meeting, immediately sent messengers to the kings of France and of Poland to announce

his accession to the throne of Hungary ; he next commanded Bathory to resign the fortress of Buda, and to join him at Stuhlweissenburg ; and, upon his refusal to obey, deposed him from his office of Palatine, and appointed another in his stead. Bathory and the Queen convoked a Diet at Presburg, where they declared that held at Stuhlweissenburg to be illegal, as it had not been summoned by the Palatine, according to ancient usage. Francis Batthyany, Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Caspar Ilorváth, Francis Nyary, Stephen Mailath, and others whose names have become familiar in later Hungarian history, obeyed the summons to the Diet at Presburg. Inspired by hatred to Zapoyla, Batthyany proceeded to declare Anna, the eldest daughter of Uladislau, sister of the late King, and wife of Ferdinand Duke of Austria, heiress of the kingdom, and her husband, King of Hungary. An envoy was in consequence sent to Vienna with the offer of the crown.

While the states of Slavonia acknowledged Zapoyla, those of Croatia tendered their homage to Ferdinand ; had the former however possessed energy or courage sufficient to maintain his claim, he might still have been King in Hungary ; but after the first battle in which he was defeated, Zapoyla fled with precipitation into Transylvania. The defection of their chief caused those who had been hitherto adverse to Ferdinand, now to offer him their allegiance, and thus he gained quiet possession of a kingdom, which had only at first been presented to him by an aristocratic faction.

On the 3rd of November, 1527, he took his oath to the Constitution, by which he bound himself, "By the living God, and by the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, and by all the saints, to preserve the churches consecrated to God ; the Lords, Prelates, Barons, Nobles, and free Cities of Hungary, with the inhabitants of the kingdom, in their immunities,

rights, privileges, franchises, and all good customs anciently and generally approved; to act justly, and to keep inviolate the decree* of the most serene King Andrew."

Zapoyla sent to demand the assistance of the Sultan, and employed as his ambassador Jerome Laszky, a learned and accomplished statesman and warrior. Jerome was the friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, by whom he was highly esteemed, but his restless temper ever prompted him to enter into politics, in the hope of deriving advantages from the dissensions in the state. His courteous and agreeable manners won the favour of the Sultan, to whom he offered Hungary as a fief of Turkey, provided he would in return lend his support to Zapoyla. The object of the embassy had scarcely been accomplished, when an ambassador arrived at Constantinople from Ferdinand with offers of amity, but at the same time demanding the cession of Belgrade. The Sultan indignantly rejected the terms, and bade the ambassador acquaint his master that he would seek him at Buda, and should he not find him there, follow him to Vienna. Suliman was not long in executing his threat, and appeared on the frontiers of Hungary with 300,000 men, where he was soon joined by Zapoyla, who had already defeated the Austrian party at Kaschau; the people of Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia, flocked to his standard, and in August, 1527, Zapoyla and Suliman encamped before Buda, now garrisoned and commanded by Germans. The place was soon yielded to the Turks, who next seized upon Viségrad, and gained possession of the Hungarian crown. The Sultan reached Vienna in September, but met there with so stout a resistance, that he was obliged to withdraw his troops. After his return to Buda, he caused Zapoyla to be again proclaimed King, and commanded the people to acknowledge him as such. Zapoyla soon afterwards received offers of friendship from Francis I. of France,

whose hatred of the Emperor was such, that he was willing to ally himself with any enemy of his house.

After Suliman had retired, the war continued for some time between Ferdinand and Zapoyla, until Laszky effected a reconciliation between the contending parties, by the terms of which, each was to retain the land he had then in his possession. In 1529, Suliman again advanced into Austria, entering the Dukedom by Styria. He met with an unexpected check before Guntz, a small garrisoned town on the way, which gave Ferdinand time to collect his forces, and unite them with those of the Emperor; but the Sultan had already suffered so many losses, that without attempting to advance further, he made a hasty retreat to Constantinople.

Until 1539, Ferdinand continued to carry on a desultory warfare against Zapoyla, until at length a treaty was concluded at Groswardein, in which the Emperor Charles the Fifth acted as mediator. It was there stipulated that Zapoyla was to retain Transylvania for himself and his heirs, and part of Hungary during his lifetime, while Ferdinand was to rule over the remainder of the kingdom. It was the transfer of a part of Hungary to the Princes of Transylvania for the lifetime of each, which later on, became a fertile source of contention between the Diet and the Sovereign of Hungary. If the Hungarians were at this time displeased at a partition of their country, they had not the strength to offer any resistance. Zapoyla soon afterwards married Isabella, the daughter of the King of Poland, and of Bona Sforza of Milan, a princess of only eighteen years of age, whom he caused to be crowned Queen at Stuhlweissenburg. He survived his marriage one year, and received the news of the birth of a son just before his death, in 1540.

For many past years Zapoyla had found a constant friend in George Utjessenovitz, better known as Martinuzzi, a name he derived from his mother, who was a Venetian

by birth. Educated in the castle of Hunyady, which now belonged to John Corvinus the son of Matthias, he had been early inured to hardships, and at twenty years of age was received into the retinue of a lady of noble family, where he acquired more courtly and refined manners, than in the warlike mansion of the Hunyady. His father was slain fighting against the Turks, and Martinuzzi soon afterwards entered the monastery of St. Paul, in the vicinity of Buda, as a lay brother. Here he was first taught reading, writing, and the Latin tongue, and as the monks soon discovered their pupil possessed abilities of no mean order, they permitted him to be ordained for the priesthood. Having been raised to the dignity of Prior, he was removed to a monastery in the East of Hungary, where he first met Zapoyla. Their friendship continued unchanged through life, and the latter, when in power, appointed Martinuzzi Bishop of Groswarden. Though ambitious and false when it suited his purpose, the Bishop possessed courage, fortitude, and ability as a General as well as a Priest. On his death-bed, Zapoyla confided his young widow and her infant son to his care. After Martinuzzi had deposited the body in the royal vault at Stuhlweissenburg, he prepared to fulfil the last wishes of his friend; he placed the child, who had received the name of John Sigismund, and his mother, in safe protection in the castle of Buda, and having proclaimed him King under the revered name of Stephen, he sent to Constantinople to demand aid from the Sultan. Ferdinand had also sent an embassy to Suliman; but this time, following the example of Zapoyla, he likewise offered to hold Hungary as a fief of Turkey. He next required Isabella to acknowledge him as Sovereign, and to deliver up the crown jewels; to which she returned an indignant refusal.

Meantime, the country had been devoured by the German armies of Ferdinand, and the laws set at nought; the

people already began to feel the disadvantage of a foreign Sovereign, whose interest it was to drain the riches of the country without caring for its future prosperity, or the welfare of its inhabitants. The Nobles, to whom he owed his election, vainly remonstrated, and represented the condition of Hungary to Ferdinand; they declared that terrible as had been the sufferings of the people caused by the Turks, they were trifling compared to those they had endured from the soldiers of the King, who desolated the land by plunder, rapine, and violence, in which they were countenanced and even assisted by the officers in command; and they implored him to put a stop to this disorderly conduct.

While the Ambassadors of Ferdinand were still at Constantinople, he sent an army in 1540 to Buda, to seize on Isabella and her child; but Martinuzzi twice repulsed the Austrian troops, and kept them at bay until the arrival of the Sultan beneath the walls of the Citadel. Suliman demanded the young prince from his mother, who, doubting the sincerity of his offers of friendship, refused to comply, until Martinuzzi persuaded her, when the Sultan gave a great entertainment, and having entered Buda, returned John Sigismund to Isabella, but detained Martinuzzi and others as his prisoners. He then insisted on the Queen resigning all claim to the Hungarian Crown, and quitting Hungary to take possession of her dominions in Transylvania, which she was to hold as a fief of the Porte. After this, Martinuzzi was liberated, and though Isabella feared his pride and ambition, she was obliged to have recourse to him as an adviser; and with him departed to obey the mandate of the Sultan.

Suliman soon gained possession of Hungary, rejecting all the offers of Ferdinand to treat with him. A war of many years followed between Austria and Turkey, during which

time Hungary was the field of battle; both sides proving equally indifferent to the welfare of the unhappy country which was pillaged, laid waste, and burned, while the inhabitants were massacred by Germans and Turks. At length, in 1546, the belligerents consented to a truce of five years, by which each retained the land they had conquered, and Ferdinand consented to pay the Sultan an annual tribute. Martinuzzi, in the mean time, had seized upon the whole power in Transylvania, and left the Queen a mere shadow of royalty. On Suliman remonstrating, he determined to offer his services to Ferdinand. His intrigues being discovered by the Queen, he withdrew from her court, and prepared for rebellion; and as her Moslem allies did not send her any assistance, Isabella was obliged to agree to a reconciliation. In 1551, Ferdinand persuaded his brother the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, to lend him a body of troops, which he immediately despatched to Transylvania. He was there joined by Martinuzzi, who had placed himself at the head of the insurgents; Isabella, unable to resist the armies of Austria, finally consented to resign to Ferdinand her son's claims on Transylvania, and even the Hungarian crown and jewels, which she had hitherto retained in her possession. Martinuzzi, in reward for his perfidy, received a Cardinal's hat, and was appointed governor of the province, while the young John Sigismund was betrothed to Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand.

Queen Isabella delivered up the crown jewels, at Kolosvar, to Castaldo, the Spanish general of Ferdinand, in July, 1551. It was the first time that the sacred crown had been formally transferred into the hands of a foreign sovereign, and it was a day of as much sorrow to Hungary as to the unfortunate young Queen. As she presented them to Castaldo she spoke as follows: "I present to you the crown and jewels of the Hungarian kingdom for your King Ferdinand.

May Almighty God grant that it may be for the welfare of the country, and of all Christendom. But, alas! *I feel within me a foreboding that they will never again be worn by a King of your people and blood.* I cannot conceal that I feel my son and I have suffered wrong; nevertheless, I will fulfil what has been dictated to me by the will of the stranger, comforting myself with the hope, that the orphan born and bred to rule, will, notwithstanding our present exile, be one day restored to his rights, by God's help, and even with your co-operation."

After the departure of Isabella, Castaldo was appointed to the military command, a circumstance which gave rise to incessant disputes between him and Martinuzzi; complaints against the arrogant priest were sent to Vienna, accusing him of rapacity, and even of tampering with the Turks. By the command of Ferdinand, he was accordingly assassinated in his castle of Linz, by the Spanish general and his soldiers, in December, 1551. Ferdinand had ordered the murder of Martinuzzi less because he feared his intrigues with the Sultan, than to rid himself of the last Hungarian leader, who, notwithstanding his perfidious conduct, still nourished in the land some lingering hopes of liberty and of nationality.* With the death of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand hoped to become undisputed King of Hungary and Transylvania.

The first consequence of the crime, was a Bull of excommunication from Pope Julius the Second, against all concerned in the murder of the Cardinal; and soon afterwards the Sultan sent two large armies into Transylvania to assert the right of John Sigismund to that province. Queen Isabella hastened to join them from Poland, the Szeklers rose in rebellion, and even Buda revolted against the Austrians. Mehemet Pasha laid siege to Agria, which

* Martinuzzi had proposed to Ferdinand the emancipation of the peasantry.

was ill provided for its defence, and had nothing to trust in but the strength of its old citadel, the valour of its garrison, and their hatred of foreign invaders. The inhabitants themselves agreed to put any one to death who should speak of a surrender; and when the provisions were exhausted, they determined sooner to eat one another, than yield to the Turks. Even the women armed in the defence of the town, and fearlessly encountered the enemy, while encouraging the soldiers in the fight. The siege lasted forty days, at the end of which time the besiegers were obliged to retreat, though even then a sally was made in which a considerable number of the Moslems were slain. The Turks were, however, generally victorious; and in 1556, Isabella and her son invited by the principal nobles returned in triumph to Transylvania. She summoned a great Diet in Klausenburg, which was numerous attended, and where John Sigismund, who had scarcely attained his seventeenth year, was elected King. The same year, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, retired into a monastery, and his brother Ferdinand was chosen as his successor on the imperial throne, though he was not proclaimed until two years later. During those two years he succeeded in destroying the liberties of Bohemia, and establishing a despotism there, which he hoped would be followed by the complete subjugation of Hungary.

Isabella died in 1559, and John Sigismund declining to treat with the Emperor, formed a fresh alliance with the Sultan, assuming at the same time the title of King of Hungary. During several succeeding years a predatory warfare was carried on until 1562, when Ferdinand, desirous of peace, seized the occasion of his son Maximilian being elected King of Rome, to conclude a truce with the Porte. In August of the same year, the Emperor, with his three sons, Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Charles, met the Hun-

garian Diet at Presburg, where the eldest received the oath of allegiance from his future subjects. Besides the representatives of the counties, and of the royal boroughs or cities, eight Bishops, five Prebends, three Abbots, and forty-seven Magnates, attended the ceremonial. They came accompanied by three thousand followers on horseback, richly attired in gold, silver, and jewels; but the King forbade the nobles bringing more than one attendant each. The Magnates looked back with vain mortification and regret to the days of their youth, when they assembled eighty thousand men upon the field of Rákos. Count Nicolas Zrinyi, and Francis Batthyany, one of whom was ambitious of being appointed Palatine, and the other hoped for the decision of a suit in his favour, suggested to the Emperor that as the crown and royal insignia were in his hands, he should, without further delay, order the coronation of Maximilian, as King of Hungary. By various means, the rest of the Nobles were induced to give a tacit consent to this measure, and he was accordingly crowned for the first time in the Cathedral of Presburg, though without any signs of rejoicing from the spectators who lamented the past glories of Hungary, when the banners of Transylvania, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Cumania, were borne before the King at his coronation. On the following day the wife of Maximilian, sister of Philip II. of Spain, was crowned with a new crown, and according to ancient custom, that of St. Stephen was placed on her right shoulder. After the performance of this ceremony, it was vain for Stephen Bathory, the envoy of John Sigismund, to demand the acknowledgment of his hereditary right to Transylvania, and a part of Hungary, and to claim the consummation of his marriage with Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand. The Emperor would concede nothing but Transylvania, and the title of Duke; but while

the negotiation was still pending, John Sigismund received an assurance from the Sultan of his support, and recalled Bathory. A slow fever was gradually undermining the health of Ferdinand, who, assisted by his confidential adviser, Francis Batthyany, was still occupied with the cares of government when he died in 1564. During his reign he had twelve times broken his faith to the Hungarian people, and while Transylvania, Sclavonia, and Croatia, with two-thirds of Hungary had been lost to the kingdom, the rest had only been preserved by the payment of an annual tribute to the Porte.

Maximilian was thirty-seven years of age when he succeeded his father. In the first council he held at Vienna, at which both Hungarian and German nobles were present, he proposed to treat with the Sultan, and sending an embassy to Suliman, offered to continue the tribute his father had consented to pay; but his proposal was not accepted, and the war recommenced with fresh vigour. The Turks laid siege to Szigeth, a small town on the borders of Sclavonia, which was commanded by Count Nicolas Zrinyi. The garrison made a determined resistance, and such was the irritation of the Sultan, at his want of success, that it brought on a fit of apoplexy, of which he died September, 1566. His generals fearing the effect this might have upon the troops, ordered his physician and attendants to be strangled, and placing the body of the Sultan upon a throne before the royal tent, caused the army to pass in review before it, at such a distance as to prevent their discovering the truth. The attack was then renewed with vigour and the place taken, but not until Zrinyi and all the garrison had been put to the sword. Two Austrian armies were encamped within sight of the scene of action, one of them under the command of Maximilian himself, but they made no attempt to rescue the town. The Turks overran

one-third of Hungary, and carried away 80,000 of the inhabitants prisoners. To add to the troubles of this period; the Emperor neglected the interests of his Hungarian subjects, and violated the laws in the appointment of Germans, and other foreigners to the high offices in the state.

In 1568 Maximilian concluded a treaty with Selim, the new Sultan, by which it was agreed that John Sigismund was to hold the government of Transylvania, under the Sultan and the Emperor, with the title of Woivode; and that Hungary should be divided between the two Powers. The Magnates indignantly refused to take any part in an administration where they were no longer consulted, and where they were only permitted a shadow of power, the reality of which had been usurped by the King; some even fled into Transylvania, and joined the army of an insurgent leader named George Bocksay; but John Sigismund consented to accept the terms offered by Maximilian and the Sultan. He did not long survive the conclusion of the war. The most distinguished feature in his reign, was his entire toleration of every religious denomination; it was in his court that Socinus found a refuge.

The Transylvanian Diet elected Stephen Bathory as his successor; he had been educated at the University of Padua, and was highly esteemed in Hungary. The Sultan and the Emperor confirmed the election of the Diet, though Maximilian wished to attach the condition, that Bathory should hold Transylvania as a fief from him, but he could only obtain a promise that after his death the province should revert to the Hungarian crown. Maximilian further presented him for his lifetime with four counties of Hungary which he held as Viceroy.

In 1576 Stephen Bathory was elected King by the Polish Diet, when Henry of Valois abandoned Poland, and returned to France upon the death of his brother Charles IX.

From that time Christopher Bathory, the brother of Stephen acted as his Regent in Transylvania, while he himself resided in Poland.

Maximilian died that same year at Ratisbon, in the fiftieth year of his age.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continuation of Kings of the House of Hapsburg—Rudolph I., Matthias II., Ferdinand II., Ferdinand III.—Princes of Transylvania.—Bathory, Bethlen Gabor, Rákoczy—The Reformation in Hungary.

A.D. 1576—1657.

THE struggle for religious as well as political liberty was now commencing in Hungary; where the Princes of Transylvania became the rallying point of Protestantism and constitutional freedom, against the Catholic and despotic principles which the Hapsburg dynasty endeavoured to force upon the people.

The doctrines of Luther had early reached Hungary, and the great principles of the Reformation had gained a hold on the minds of the people, especially of those belonging to the race of the Magyars. Ferdinand I. left them at liberty to follow their own views in this respect, and Maximilian even encouraged the new faith.

Rudolph, who succeeded him in 1576, was a man of a narrow understanding and heart, with some talent, which he employed principally in the cultivation of science. He concluded for himself several treaties of marriage with the Princesses of Europe, all of which he broke off before they were fulfilled; and believing the warnings of astrologers, that his life would be taken by his most confidential friend, he became timid, suspicious, and melancholy. In the first Hungarian Diet he held after his accession to the throne, he

announced his intention to place his uncle and his brother in command of the army, and thus to continue the illegal practices of Ferdinand and Maximilian, by bestowing the high offices of the state on foreigners. The Diet, held in 1580, loudly demanded the redress of grievances, which every year became more oppressive; but the complaint had to be repeated the following year, and with as little success. In 1583 Rudolph demanded a supply of money; and, in order to ingratiate himself with his Hungarian nobles, he laid a project before them to remedy that of which they complained, which he at the same time reminded them, could only be a work of time; the Diet was not to be thus easily pacified, and their perseverance in the demand for immediate reform excited the anger of the King; still they maintained their ground, until the Magnates offered to mediate, and pledge their honour for that of Rudolph, that all their reasonable desires would be granted; the money was therefore voted for two years, but the King afterwards refused to redeem the pledge.

After the death of Stephen Bathory, in 1586, Christopher resigned his charge to his nephew Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania. Sigismund concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Rudolph, who permitted him to retain the counties of Hungary, as well as the Principality of Transylvania, on condition that if he died without children, they were to return to the Hungarian crown. Sigismund, in alliance with the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, drove the armies of the Sultan back into Turkey, and the Austrians in Hungary recovered Viségrad and Gran. These successes of the Christians roused Mahomet, the son of Amurath, to send a large army into Hungary, and the war recommenced in good earnest. During fifteen years the country was devastated by German and Turkish soldiers, while the Emperor was amusing himself at Prague with

astrological and scientific studies. The Austrian troops were permitted the utmost licence, and cotemporaries describe the commanders as themselves spending whole nights in drinking and the pleasures of the table, while their men roamed over the country for miles around the camp, plundering the inhabitants. Such an army presented no very formidable barrier to the advance of the enemy, who seized on Raab and Erlau, the last of which was, however, retaken by the Austrian troops, in the only brilliant action they performed during the war.

In 1597 Sigismund, though only twenty-six years of age, grew weary of the cares of government, and resigned his Principality to Rudolph, who appointed the Archduke Maximilian, Governor of Transylvania. The Turks were then hanging on the frontiers, but Maximilian, instead of hastening his departure, lingered in Prague, and after the Magnates of the Principality had awaited his arrival some months, they invited Sigismund to return. As he had already begun to repent his abdication, he immediately complied with their wishes, and came in disguise to Kolosvar, where his wife, the Princess Christina, resided. A year later he sent offers of friendship to Rudolph, but with little sincerity on his part; such was the divided state of parties within his own Principality, that it was not until 1601 that he was fully re-instated in the government. Soon afterwards the King sent an army against him, by which he was totally defeated; but while the victors were engaged in disputes among themselves, Sigismund demanded the assistance of the Tartars, the Porte, and the King of Poland. The Hungarian Diet urged Rudolph to commence the campaign early the following year, and voted him a sum of money for the purpose, in spite of the poverty to which the country had been reduced; but the Turks had advanced to Belgrade and entered Hungary, before they encountered the Hun-

garian troops, whom they totally defeated. The Diet reproached Rudolph with his want of energy, but voted another supply to raise a fresh army to repel the invaders.

About this period the Jesuits had begun to exercise an extraordinary influence throughout Europe; their whole aim was to apply an antidote to the Reformation, and support the declining power of the Papacy. When the doctrines of Luther were first preached in Hungary, a law was passed, principally through the influence of the Bishops, by which the King was called upon to punish by death, or confiscation of property, all who professed the new form of religion, as heretics and enemies of the Holy Virgin, the Patroness of Hungary. For many years afterwards, the clergy and the people were opposed to one another on religious matters, and under the turbulent reign of John Zapoyla the property of seven bishoprics had been placed under lay jurisdiction. When he sold the country to the Moslems as a price for their assistance against Ferdinand, the ecclesiastics took advantage of the indignation this act excited, to recover their power and influence, and the progress of the Reformation was checked. The success of the Turks again opened a free ingress for the Lutheran Church, and a hundred and twenty evangelical communities subsisted under the protection of the Porte, between the Danube and the Drave. In 1548 the Protestant clergy were enabled to hold synods in the north of Hungary, where they elected their elders, and framed laws for the regulation of the infant church, their example was followed in other parts of the kingdom. Ferdinand who observed that liberty of conscience had already awakened the spirit of political freedom in Germany, received the order of Jesuits into Vienna, established them as teachers in the University, and ten years later introduced them into Hungary; but an accidental fire destroying part of their College before the

building was completed, they looked upon this circumstance as an ill omen, and therefore postponed their work there to a later period. In the seven Diets held by Maximilian, the complaints of the Bishops, against the Lutherans, were set aside, and, during his reign, they were permitted the free exercise of their religion.

When Rudolph ascended the throne there were three hundred evangelical communities on the right bank of the Danube, four hundred on the left, and two hundred in the North of Hungary in the counties of Zips, Saros, and Gomor; the Calvinists had made converts of vast numbers of the people inhabiting the region of the Theiss, and the Unitarian form of worship prevailed in Transylvania: even high offices in the state were held by Protestants.

Stephen Bathory had entrusted the education of his son Sigismund to the Jesuits, who turned out the Protestant clergy, burnt their books, and confiscated their property to the state. When, however, Sigismund attained his majority, the Diet required him to banish the order from his dominions; it was vain for the young Prince, prompted by his former tutors, to entreat for delay; the representatives of the people refused to accept him as their ruler, until he had expelled all the Jesuits except his own confessor, from Transylvania. They were obliged to depart, within five and twenty days, their property was confiscated to the state in the same manner as they had confiscated that of the Protestant clergy, and a law passed that from that time forth, not one of the order should be permitted to set foot in Transylvania.

In 1603, however, Sigismund, notwithstanding this law, recalled them into the Principality, and commanded their chief to appoint such among the fathers as were acquainted with the various dialects spoken in the country, to seek, and point out the spots where heretics most abounded. The

previous year, Rudolph had commenced his persecutions of the Protestants in Hungary, and in 1604 one of his generals, in obedience to his commands, banished all the evangelical preachers out of the city of Kaschau, the seat of government in Upper Hungary, and seized upon eight and twenty protestant villages. The Lutherans were noted for their industry and sobriety, and when the intelligence of this outrage reached the Diet assembled at Presburg, the deputies refused to proceed with business, until this and other grievances occasioned by the foreign soldiers and their commanders were redressed. Rudolph, in reply, only admonished his Protestant subjects to refrain from disturbing the order of the Diet, and forbade the members in future from interfering in matters appertaining to religion.

The Protestants finding peaceful measures of no avail, determined to appeal to arms, and chose, as their leader, Stephen Botskai, the principal Magnate of Upper Hungary, and uncle to Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania. His castle and lands had been ransacked and laid waste by Rudolph's generals, while he was absent at court pleading the cause of his oppressed brethren; there he had been further irritated by the insults of the royal favourites and courtiers. Numbers joined his standard, "nobles," and peasants, and even the Haiduks or soldiers employed in the Austrian service deserted in a body to enter his army. The representatives of the principal families of Transylvania, the Bethlens, Rákoczy, &c., met at the castle of Botskai, and elected him their prince. He was assisted with men and money by the Turks, and was by them received on the field of Rákos with the honours due to royalty; he however disclaimed all rank and power which was not conferred by his fellow nobles, and proceeded to the conquest of the principal places in Hungary. Rudolph's younger brother Matthias, the heir presumptive to the kingdom, at length offered to mediate

between the King and his subjects, and having gained the confidence of the minister of Botskai, he was enabled to conclude a peace with his master, who was then suffering from a mortal disease. By this treaty, called the Pacification of Vienna, it was enacted, that the same religious toleration should be granted as under Ferdinand and Maximilian, that Matthias should be appointed Governor of Hungary, and Botskai, Prince of Transylvania, with the addition of the four border counties, to revert to the House of Hapsburg if the prince died without heirs; the King promised for the future to observe the rights and immunities of the people, to permit the Hungarians to select their own Palatine out of the candidates nominated by him, as by ancient law established, to entrust the regulation of the finances and all offices and other charges, to natives of the country, and to order all foreigners to leave the kingdom, and forbid them to hold property in the same. A truce for twenty years was at the same time concluded with the Turks, and on the payment of a large sum of money, the Sultan consented to absolve the Hungarian kings from their tribute to the Porte. Sigismund had been obliged to abandon the principality and died in exile in 1610.

Botskai was succeeded by Sigismund Rákoczy, as Governor of Transylvania, he was elected Prince by the Diet, contrary to his own desire, but the choice was confirmed by the Emperor, who had learnt the moderation of character and peaceable views of Rákoczy, and who dreaded another civil war. Matthias also acquiesced in his nomination, but requested that the Jesuits, who had been again expelled by Botskai, should be restored. Rákoczy laid the matter before the Diet, who declared their determination that not one of the Company of Jesus should be permitted to enter the Principality. The Prince, accordingly, after assuring the Fathers that he believed them to be honest, good, and

upright men, informed them that they must submit to their fate, as decreed by a majority of his subjects. Though expelled from Transylvania, the Jesuits augured well for their success in Hungary, where the principal strongholds of Protestantism in the North, Kaschau and Leutschau, had again sworn allegiance to the King. Rudolph's jealousy of his heirs, placed Matthias in so equivocal a position that he found it necessary, in 1608, to call a meeting of Nobles at Presburg where they expressed their resolution to maintain the conditions agreed on in the Pacification of Vienna, and to obey their Governor Matthias, in all things necessary for the recovery of their freedom: in a secret article, the leaders pledged themselves to oblige the King to abdicate. A fortnight later, Rudolph opened the Diet in person, and soon afterwards a desire for the elevation of the Archduke Matthias to the Hungarian throne was publicly expressed. The Bishops at first kept aloof, but were finally induced to acquiesce in the general wish. The Diet closed its sittings in February, 1609, and immediately despatched envoys to Kaschau to acquaint the Comität, or Provincial Assembly, with their resolutions. They were invited to join the movement, and the Haiduks were offered a free pardon for all past offences, on condition of lending their assistance to establish the new King on his throne. As soon as Rudolph was informed of what had occurred, he determined to send an army into Hungary, Moravia, and Austria, to suppress the rebellion; but when Matthias appeared at the head of twenty-five thousand men, the Emperor, in alarm, sent the Cardinal Bishop of Olmütz to mediate a peace, promising to resign Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to his brother, to deliver up the Hungarian crown and jewels, and consent to his being crowned King of Hungary.

With Matthias, the Hungarians believed that a new advent had dawned upon Hungary. In the mean time Sigismund

Rákoczy, feeling himself incapacitated by bodily infirmities from carrying on the government, abdicated, and was succeeded by Gabriel Báthory, a weak bad man. He immediately despatched his confidential adviser, Gabriel Bethlen, better known as Bethlen Gábor, to Constantinople, to obtain the confirmation of his title by the Sultan. The Pacification of Vienna was violated a second time by his election; since as his predecessor left no male heir, Transylvania should have reverted to Matthias: but at a time when Rudolph had just been forced to abdicate, and Matthias was scarcely yet firmly seated on the throne of Hungary, the government of the Principality was allowed to pass into the hands of Báthory without opposition.

The experience of the past century had roused the jealous fears of the Hungarian people at the accession of every new monarch; and when the Diet met at Presburg, within a month of the election of Matthias, they required him to sign in due form the contract by which he was to be accepted as their King. The following were the most remarkable stipulations it contained: that all Barons, Magnates, and proprietors, as well as free cities and classes of the people, whether living upon their own land or upon that belonging to the Royal Exchequer, as well as the Hungarian border guard, the market towns, and villages, should be permitted the free exercise of their religion; that no one should be disturbed or hindered therein, &c. . . . That the King should not commence a war in Hungary, or in the provinces, or introduce foreign soldiers into the kingdom, without the consent of the Diet; that in the choice of a Palatine, the King should select four candidates, two Catholics, and two of the Lutheran persuasion, to be presented to the Diet; that the crown should immediately be brought to Presburg, and, after the coronation of the King, should be preserved within the kingdom; that the Jesuits should not be permitted to

hold any landed property in the country; that foreigners should be excluded from all share in the administration, and that the King should pledge his word only to employ native Hungarians in the affairs of Hungary, and that, without any regard to religious creed; that Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia should be reintegrated into the Hungarian kingdom; that the King should for the future reside in Hungary, and govern in person, but in case of his necessary absence, the Palatine should be invested with full powers to conduct the government, with the assistance of the Hungarian Council of State: and because the Hungarians had proffered, and still continued to proffer, their faithful services to the King, and especially because they did not refuse to accept him as their monarch, they desired that all fortresses on the borders of Austria should be restored to the Hungarian kingdom, or delivered to the care of Hungarian Magnates.

Matthias was shortly afterwards crowned, and the choice of a Palatine fell on Stephen Ilcházy. The Jesuits made great efforts to obtain power under Matthias, who favoured the Catholic interest, though he permitted no persecution of the Protestants. The death of Gabriel Báthory, by the hand of an assassin, gave the King of Hungary an opportunity of claiming from the people of Transylvania the fulfilment of the clause in the Pacification of Vienna * evaded by the late Prince; and for this purpose he convened a Diet to obtain support in men and money. The Protestants were, however, dissatisfied with his conduct, and he failed in both his demands. Bethlen Gábor, therefore, who had been elected to succeed Gabriel Báthory,

* By which the four border counties should revert to the House of Hapsburg, if the Prince of Transylvania died without male heirs. *See* p. 117.

took quiet possession of the Principality. Matthias died, 1612, leaving as his successor his cousin, Ferdinand the Second.

The Kings of the Hapsburg Dynasty had hitherto vainly endeavoured to lessen the power of the Diet, in order to increase that of the monarchy; the fruit of all their despotic schemes had been to unite the Nobles more closely in opposition to their claims, and while never failing in due respect towards the person of the Sovereign, they adhered more firmly than ever to their resolution, of maintaining their constitutional rights. The Thirty years' war had already commenced in Europe, when, notwithstanding his well known bigotry, Ferdinand was elected to the thrones of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria. Educated in a school of Jesuitism, he at one time had serious thoughts of taking the monastic vows, and, to the end of his life, his inveterate hatred of the Protestant religion, was the most remarkable feature in his mind. In order to fulfil a vow he had made when on a pilgrimage to Loretto, he resolved to extirpate all heretics from his dominions with fire and sword. Bohemia first rose in insurrection against his tyrannical violation of her political and religious rights, and the insurgents, led by the celebrated Count Thurn, offered their crown to the Elector Palatine, the husband of Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I.

The efforts of Bohemia to resist religious persecution were seconded by Bethlen Gábor, Prince of Transylvania, who, being invited to their assistance, entered Hungary with a large army, to support the cause of the Protestants. He was everywhere joined by the people, and even Presburg yielded, after a feeble attempt to resist his arms. He gave the Palatine permission to depart uninjured, only exacting from him and his adherents an oath of fidelity to the Constitution, and a promise that on the restoration of peace, they

would promote a more just system of administration in the country.

After removing the crown jewels to a place of safety, Bethlen made his solemn entrance into the city, and attended divine service in the church of St. Martin, which was first performed according to the Roman Catholic ritual, secondly according to the Calvinistic, and lastly to the Lutheran. Although Ferdinand had expressly forbidden Pázmány, Archbishop of Gran, the Palatine Forgács, and the Magnates to appear in the Diet held by Bethlen, it was numerously attended, and even included envoys from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria, and the Palatine himself opened the sitting. The only exceptions were the Bishops; and, among the Magnates, Nicolas Esterházy, Thomas Nadasdy, and Nicolas Frangipani. Nothing decisive was, however, resolved upon; the Protestants proposed that Ferdinand should be forced to abdicate, and that Bethlen Gábor should be crowned King of Hungary, but this was rejected, as too violent and sudden a measure. The terms of a league between Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria, which had already been drawn up, were also negatived, because Bethlen Gábor proposed that Bohemia and Moravia should pledge themselves to contribute a certain sum for the support of the border fortresses, and that if Ferdinand should lose Austria, the Dukedom should be incorporated into the kingdom of Hungary.

Ferdinand had in the meantime been crowned Emperor, and returned with his new dignity to Vienna. Bethlen Gábor marched to the gates of the Austrian capital with the intention of giving battle to the generals of Ferdinand, but as they remained within the city prepared to stand a siege, for which the season was unfavourable, he withdrew his troops, and on the 30th November recrossed the Danube, and was received with enthusiasm by the Protestant popu-

lation of that part of Hungary. On his return to Presburg he found the inhabitants disputing for the possession of the church of St. Martin; he accordingly ordered a calculation to be made of each of the adherents of the three Christian sects, and on its being proved that the larger number were Lutherans, he bestowed the church upon them. In the commencement of the year 1620, the Diet obliged Bethlen Gábor to accept the title of Prince of Hungary, and he shortly afterwards concluded a fresh alliance with Bohemia. A truce of one year was at last concluded with the Emperor, but the terms had scarcely been agreed upon, when the Catholic clergy, led by the Archbishop of Gran, entered a protest against it, as well as against the ordinances of Bethlen Gábor, by which entire toleration had been granted to all creeds and professions. They contrived, while acting upon the intolerant spirit of the King, at the same time to sow dissensions in the people, and the consequence of their bigotry was the resolutions of the Diet of Neusohl. Here the Magnates and representatives of Hungary assembled in vast numbers in the spring of the year 1620, not to consider the terms of a final peace with the king, but to propose a renewal of the league against him. The national pride of the Hungarians was offended by the excuses alleged for the late arrival of the Envoys of Ferdinand, and by their exhortations to the Diet in the name of their master, not to adopt the cause of rebels and insurgents; they replied, that they had only consented to the truce in order to obtain time to establish order and peace in the states to which they were allied; that they did not recognise the Envoys as competent to represent the Emperor; finally, that the affairs of Hungary must be decided by the Palatine, in conjunction with the Diet. The Envoys immediately sent to inform Ferdinand of what had passed, and in return received

credentials empowering them to treat, in his name, and promising to confirm whatever they should resolve upon. The Diet still declined treating with any one but the sovereign himself, upon which the Envoys dissolved the meeting, and pronounced all their past or future resolutions null and void.

Irritated by their insolence, the Diet, far from yielding, proceeded to declare Ferdinand deposed, and to elect Bethlen Gábor in his stead, king of Hungary; but Bethlen refused the crown, and in spite of the entreaties of his friends, only accepted the title of King provisionally.

One of his first acts was to forbid all priests, of whatever denomination, preaching against the adherents of an opposite creed, or inflaming the religious bigotry of the people against one another; he reduced the Bishoprics to three, limited their incomes, and confirmed the synodal statutes of the Protestant communities. He further ordered that the church lands should be resumed by the state, and their revenue applied to the maintenance of the border fortresses. Ambassadors were despatched to the Porte immediately after the dissolution of the Diet, who returned with promises of friendship and succour, but Bethlen contrived to sustain his position, without inviting the Moslems into the kingdom. The war continued during the two following years with varied fortune, but at the end of that time, peace was again restored, and Bethlen promised to resign his title of King and restore the crown jewels to Ferdinand, who bestowed upon him the counties of Hungary bordering on Transylvania, on condition that he would permit the Roman Catholic inhabitants to enjoy perfect religious freedom.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Ferdinand appointed his favourite, Nicolas Esterhazy, Palatine, with the view of inducing him to exert his influence in obtaining the consent

of the Diet to the coronation of his son Ferdinand, as the future King of Hungary. The Diet insisted that the young Prince should in the first place swear to preserve the liberties of the country; and the council of state advised the Emperor to yield, as they observed that the oath was worded in so general a manner that it need not in any way restrain the actions of the Prince; Esterhazy went so far as to maintain that the King could at his pleasure change the laws of the kingdom, and in defiance of oaths and compacts, abolish the Lutheran and Calvinistic form of worship. The King's conscience being satisfied on this point, he complied with the wishes of the Diet, and his son was accordingly crowned in December, 1626.

The Archbishop Pázmandy, more honest than his master, vehemently protested against the oath extorted from the young King, and declared null and void all treaties which tended to destroy the unity of the Church.

Bethlen Gábor, about this time concluded his marriage with Catharine, sister of the Elector of Brandenburg. Various Princes of Europe, and among others the Emperor Ferdinand, sent presents and congratulations on the occasion. This apparent amity did not prevent a renewal of hostilities after a short interval of peace. The war was not, however, of long continuance. Bethlen allied himself with Christian of Denmark, and Gustavus Adolphus, against all who violated the rights of conscience; but before this compact could be followed by any practical result, the Prince of Transylvania died in the forty-ninth year of his age. He left rich legacies to Ferdinand and his son, to the King of Sweden, and the Sultan, besides to many Hungarian Magnates, to his old soldiers, and servants, and to various churches and colleges.

Three years before the death of Bethlen, his wife Catharine, had been nominated future Regent of Transylvania by the

Roman Catholic party in the Diet, in reward for her secret conversion to their religion during the absence of her husband. No sooner was Bethlen dead, than Catharine intrigued to deliver the Principality to Ferdinand, and therefore refused to consent to the conditions prescribed by the Protestants for her acceptance of the Regency. Her conspiracy was, however, discovered, and she was set aside; while her brother-in-law, Stephen Bethlen, was elected Prince. But before the news of his own election reached him, Stephen had invited George Rákoczy to succeed his late brother; and it was now too late to retract, as Rákoczy, with some thousand Hungarians and Haiduks, was already entering Transylvania to assert his claims. To avoid a civil war, therefore, Stephen resigned, and Rákoczy was elected. Ferdinand sent Esterhazy to seize upon Transylvania, but the Austrian army was defeated, and the Emperor, with the Palatine, was obliged to acknowledge the new Prince.

Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of the cause of Protestantism, had, in the mean time, advanced into Germany, and sent from Frankfort to demand the alliance of Rákoczy against Ferdinand; but the Transylvanian Prince had enough to do in establishing himself in his new dominions. Gustavus proceeded in his conquests, carrying all before him, until the celebrated Wallenstein assumed the command of the armies of the Emperor. Rákoczy, fired by the successes of the Swedish King, had proclaimed war on Ferdinand, when the news reached him of the death of Gustavus Adolphus on the field of Lutzen, and he hastened to despatch another embassy to Vienna with offers of peace, on condition that the Emperor should acknowledge him Prince of Transylvania. Ferdinand only lived a few months, after the conclusion of the treaty, and died in 1687.

The Archbishop Pázmány did not long survive the Em-

peror, and one of the first acts of Ferdinand the Third was to appoint his successor. The Palatine Nicholas Esterhazy tendered his resignation, but the new King entreated him to continue in his office; though so zealous a Catholic that he could advise the former Emperor not to keep faith with heretics, he proved a useful counsellor to Ferdinand the Third, exhorting him to be true to his oath in other respects, and to maintain the Hungarian constitution. For many years the country enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and was only disturbed by the religious dissensions of the people themselves. The Protestants hoped to find a protector in Rákoczy, but he was too much engaged in devising means of aggrandizement for himself, and accumulating wealth, to attend to their complaints. In 1643, however, he concluded an alliance with Sweden and France against Ferdinand, and, leaving his son in charge of the Principality, marched a large army into Upper Hungary. The Lutheran population joined his standard in vast numbers, and Kaschau offered no resistance. He was then elected King of Hungary, and issued a proclamation to the people, to which Ferdinand replied in an edict, reproaching him with treasonable and ambitious views. Rákoczy had invited the assistance of the Turks; but as they did not arrive, and he himself wanted both skill and resolution, he commenced negotiations in 1645, stipulating for entire religious toleration, and the recognition of his right to Transylvania, with a grant of certain lands in Hungary. The Diet met at Presburg, to confirm the articles of the treaty; but such was the violence of the Catholic party, that ten months elapsed before the matter could be definitively settled. The Protestant sects were as bitter against one another, as against the Catholic, each believing the faith of the other to be the invention of Satan. The Emperor endeavoured to conciliate all parties in order to induce the people to consent to the coronation

of his son Ferdinand, who was just thirteen years of age.

Rákoczy was engaged in negotiations for the crown of Poland, when he died in 1648, and was succeeded by his son George. A few days later, the peace of Munster terminated the Thirty years' war. The early death of the young Ferdinand made his father desirous that the succession should be 'secured during' his lifetime to his younger son Leopold, who was accordingly crowned in 1655. Ferdinand the Third died in April, 1657, leaving behind him a character for genuine kindness of heart, which was so little corrupted even by his education under the Jesuits, that the Protestants had not much to complain of during his reign.

CHAPTER IX.

*Further continuation of kings of the house of Hapsburg—
Leopold I.—Joseph I.—Charles III.—Princes of Transylvania—
George Rákoczy—Francis Rákoczy I.—
Michael Apaffy—Francis Rákoczy II.*

A.D. 1657—1740.

DURING the first year of Leopold's reign he was wholly occupied in securing his election to the Empire, after which he turned his attention to Poland, where Charles Gustavus of Sweden, in alliance with George Rákoczy, was engaged in a war with the King. Leopold stimulated Denmark to attack Sweden, and thus obliged the monarch to return to his own kingdom and abandon his ally, who retreated before the combined armies of Austria and Poland, into Transylvania. The Sultan sent to depose Rákoczy from his

Principality, for having engaged in a war without asking the consent of the Porte, and George was soon afterwards killed before Klausenburg, while seeking to establish his claim against his rebellious subjects. He left one son, Francis; but as he had been converted to Catholicism, the people refused to acknowledge him, and Leopold attempted to seize upon the Principality. The Turks, however, who had entered the country from an opposite direction, raised Michael Apaffy to the vacant throne. The wars of the Turks and Christians recommenced; Leopold, in direct violation of his coronation oath, led a German army into Hungary and Transylvania, under the command of the Italian general Montecuculi, who demanded quarters for his troops in Kaschau, but was refused, and obliged to garrison them in Lower Hungary. .

The Diet met in May, 1662, at Presburg, and indignantly remonstrated with the King for his introduction of foreign soldiers and commanders into the kingdom; a manifesto of Montecuculi had still further given them cause of offence, as he had therein declared the Hungarian people to be wanting in valour, ignorant of the science of war, and incapable of fighting their own battles. The insulting document was answered by an anonymous publication, attributed to Count Nicholas Zrinyi, who proved this statement, so offensive to the national pride, to be false throughout. Bitter complaints relating to various acts of violence committed by foreigners, and to the restraint placed upon their religious freedom, were addressed to the Diet by thirteen counties; and at the same time they demanded from the King, the restoration of the churches and lands, of which the Protestants had been deprived by fifty-three Roman Catholic Magnates and Prelates. The royal answer only contained an exhortation to peace, and a denial that the Protestants had suffered any injury. The dissensions in the Diet between

Protestants and Catholics, and between the former and the court, were reported at Constantinople, and the Turks recommenced hostilities in 1664; Count Nicolas Zrinyi led the Hungarian army against the Moslems, and while Montecuculi, out of jealousy, refused to support him, he gained a signal victory over the troops of the Grand Vizier near Raab. The Emperor, however, consented to an ignominious peace in 1665 for twenty-one years, and promised to pay the Sultan two hundred thousand florins.

The Ottomans were not long in breaking through the treaty, and made frequent inroads into the country, so that, during the supposed peace, 60,000 of the population perished between Vezprim and Papa. When the Diet assembled in 1668, the Hungarians were irritated beyond measure, and refused the subsidies demanded by the King for the maintenance of his German soldiers. The Palatine Wesselényi, who had long supported the patriotic party, died about this time, and Leopold, in violation of the law, left the office vacant, the people became daily more incensed against their sovereign, and when the news arrived of the death of Count Nicolas Zrinyi in a boar hunt, it was reported that he had died by the hand of an assassin. Peter Zrinyi, the brother of the deceased, placed himself at the head of the discontented Nobles, and persuaded Francis Rákoczy, (who had married his daughter Helena Zrinyi), to join them; as well as a young and influential Magnate, Count Frangipani, and other great officers of the state. The confederates allied themselves with Michael Apaffy, the Prince of Transylvania, and solicited aid from the Porte; they then summoned a Diet to meet at Kaschau, in accordance with the law by which they were required to fulfil those duties to the country which the sovereign left unperformed. Sanctioned by a clause in the golden Bull of King Andrew, they resolved on an appeal to arms, to defend the violated constitution.

Leopold was prepared to resist the attack of the Nobles and sent troops into the north and south of Hungary. Zrinyi, Frangipani, and others were seized by treachery, imprisoned and executed, and their children sentenced to perpetual banishment, or condemned to change their names. Rákoczy was only pardoned on condition of laying down his arms and paying a large sum of money into the Austrian exchequer, while Paul Esterhazy, who had supported the cause of the Emperor, was rewarded by the confiscated estates of his unhappy countrymen.

Leopold next abolished the offices of Palatine, Supreme Judge, and Ban of Croatia; declared the monarchy to be hereditary in his family; quartered thirty thousand troops in the kingdom, and oppressed the peasantry with heavy taxes. He next declared the Constitution changed, and placed the administration in the hands of a council composed of members nominated by himself; the Protestant churches were closed, and many of the clergy sent to the galleys; two hundred and fifty of them were condemned to hard labour and perpetual imprisonment; and when their fate excited the compassion and sympathy of the people, they were sold at fifty crowns each to the Neapolitan galleys, from whence they were however finally liberated by the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter. Even the widow of the Palatine Wesselenyi, whose husband had died before the commencement of the insurrection, was condemned to end her days in a dungeon; the cruelty of this persecution induced the Roman Catholics and Protestants to unite in one common cause; the defence of their political as well as religious liberty. They were assisted by Apaffy, and furnished with arms and ammunition by the French and the Turks. Leopold, however, sent 10,000 fresh troops into Hungary, which, with the aid of Paul Esterhazy, succeeded in crushing the first efforts of the insurgents, and the miserable people either

joined their ranks, or fled into Transylvania; as Leopold was at this time engaged in a war with Louis XIV. of France, he now offered his subjects terms of peace, but they were not such as they thought proper to accept; each day their numbers became more formidable, till at length they gained two signal victories over the Austrians. They were assisted by an army of Poles, led by Emeric Tökölyi, a Hungarian Magnate, who had been exiled because his father had joined the insurrection led by Zrinyi and Frangipani. Though only twenty years of age he was placed at the head of the Hungarian army; he entered Upper Hungary from Transylvania with 20,000 men, and utterly routed the Austrian troops which came to meet him. After the death of Francis Rákoczy, Tökölyi was desirous of marrying his widow Helena, the daughter of Zrinyi, and Leopold commenced negotiations with a promise to sanction the marriage, and grant an amnesty and toleration of the Protestants of the kingdom. These proposals were, however, only a feint to gain time for the Austrian armies to advance, and Tökölyi, discovering the deception, broke off the negotiations suddenly; they were, however, afterwards renewed and the original terms accepted.

From that hour Tökölyi lost his influence with the people, who suspected him of sacrificing the country to his private interests, and his followers deserted him to join the standard of a rival patriot, Wesselenyi, the brother of the late Palatine: before his marriage with Helena Rákoczy had taken place however, Tökölyi found he had been the dupp of the Austrians, and, the courage and energy with which he renewed the war restored the confidence of the Hungarians; but their forces were now broken by rival leaders, and the plague had decimated both the armies of Hungary and Austria. Wesselenyi was at last taken prisoner by the enemy, and Tökölyi concluded a truce for the second time with Leopold; but the truce was of short duration, and hostilities continued

until the King consented to accept the terms of the patriots: he was required to name the candidates for the office of Palatine; to dismiss the viceroy he had lately appointed; to send all his foreign troops out of the country, or compel them to obey the laws and authority of the Palatine; and, finally, to reinstate the Protestants in those rights of which they had been unjustly deprived.

The Viennese cabinet delayed giving an answer to these propositions, until Tökölyi, wearied with their duplicity, sent to the Sultan to demand his assistance in case the negotiations failed. Leopold was alarmed by the intelligence of warlike preparations at Constantinople, and convened a Diet in 1681, but Tökölyi refused to attend, and continued to solicit aid from the Sultan. The Emperor meantime, conceded all the Diet demanded, and named Paul Esterhazy, Palatine, who had assisted him against his own countrymen. Fearing the success of Tökölyi's negotiations with the Porte, Leopold sent ambassadors to Constantinople to propose a prolongation of the peace, but the envoys from Louis XIV. of France had preceded him, and the Sultan refused his request, unless on the payment of an annual tribute.

Tökölyi, meantime, married Helena Rákoczy, and prepared to renew hostilities. His alliance with the Moslem kindled the indignation of all Europe against him, when assisted by the Turks and Apaffy, he entered Buda in triumph in 1682. He captured several towns, and was joined by many of the Protestants, but the Diet was favourably disposed towards Leopold, who had so lately granted all their demands, and even permitted him, from the urgency of the occasion, to retain his German troops in Hungary. A large Turkish force entered the country in 1683, and joined Tökölyi; the Austrians fled in consternation and several towns surrendered without striking a blow. Their

army, commanded by Charles, Duke of Lorraine, retreated upon Vienna, from which Leopold fled with his family, abandoning the unhappy citizens to their fate; the Moslems were soon at the gates of the capital, and if it had not been for the skill and valour of the Duke of Lorraine, and the timely arrival of the far-famed John Sobieski, whose name alone was a terror to the Turks, the city must have fallen. The two military heroes obliged the enemy to retreat, and they followed in pursuit, until the last Turk had crossed the Hungarian frontier. Esterhazy, Batthyanyi, and many of the great Nobles of Hungary contributed to the success of this brilliant campaign. Leopold was jealous of Sobieski, and accused him of secretly intriguing with Tökölyi to obtain the Hungarian crown; the Polish King therefore returned to his own country, justly offended at the base ingratitude of the Emperor.

The Sultan in the mean time, suspected Tökölyi of treachery, and caused him to be arrested, and brought in chains to Constantinople, but his innocence being proved, his accusers were strangled, and he himself restored to freedom and honour. As the Prince of Transylvania had in the meantime concluded a treaty of peace with Leopold, there was no further hope left to Tökölyi, who accordingly retired into Asia Minor. His wife shut herself and her children up in the fortress of Mungacs, which she defended for two years against the Austrians. Early in 1687, Tökölyi arrived in the vicinity of the castle, where he continued for some time in concealment. Rumours were circulated of a conspiracy against Leopold, and many thousands of innocent persons were thrown into prison, and a tribunal instituted at Eperies for their trial. It was presided over by Count Caraffa, a man of a cruel, covetous, and sanguinary disposition, who sent soldiers to scour the country in all

directions, and bring in whomsoever they could lay hands on. He caused a scaffold to be erected in the market place, and there tortured his unhappy victims to make them confess their guilt. Men of the first eminence in the country were seized, deprived of their right hands, and then executed, and their bodies quartered and hung upon gibbets in various parts of the town; some were hung, some died in prison from the effect of torture, and others saved themselves from an ignominious death by committing suicide. The Palatine Esterhazy was at length obliged to remonstrate with Leopold, on the cruelties perpetrated in his name. The emperor appointed a commission to inquire into the case, and while expressing his compassion for the wives and children of the sufferers, only ordered Caraffa to remove the scaffold, and resign his post to another, while allowing him to retain the command of the fortresses of Upper Hungary, and even sending him soon afterwards, the order of the Golden Fleece. The scaffold of Caraffa is remembered by the people as, the Bloody Theatre of Eperies.

In October, 1687, Leopold restored the crown of St. Stephen which he had carried from Presburg to Vienna, and convoked a Diet in the former city, at which the Queen and the young Prince Joseph were present. It had been previously resolved by several of the Magnates and Prelates to ingratiate themselves with the Emperor, by abolishing the right of election, and rendering the Crown hereditary in his family. The Bishop of Erlau, therefore, addressed the Prince before the assembled Diet in these words;—
“Welcome to this kingdom which is yours *by inheritance*, and receive the Hungarian Crown under the protection of God, and by the unanimous voice of the States.” As no opposition followed from the Prelates or Magnates, Joseph was crowned on the 9th of December, and it was decreed that the Crown of Hungary should descend to the

last male heirs of the House of Hapsburg, in default of whom it should become elective as before. Joseph on his side promised to maintain the rights, freedom, and traditional customs of Hungary as their meaning should be decided by the King and Diet, and to observe all the decrees of the Golden Bull of King Andrew. The late wholesale murders of the chief Protestants had so much increased the power of the Catholics in the Diet, and made their numbers so predominant, that the Jesuits were now admitted to the right of citizenship in Hungary, the Lutheran form of worship was abolished in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, and religious toleration only granted as a favour from the Sovereign.

In 1686, the noble wife of Tökölyi was betrayed to her enemies; and obliged to surrender the fortress of Mungacs to Caraffa. She and her children (both by her first marriage) were carried in triumph to Vienna, where the mother was shut up in a convent of Ursuline nuns, a Cardinal and a Bishop were appointed the guardians of her children, and the boy, Francis Rákoczy, was delivered over to the Jesuits to complete his education. Tökölyi, who had retired beyond the Theiss, protested against the illegality of the decrees of the late Diet, and he was joined by many of the Nobles who followed him into exile. After the death of Apaffy he attempted to obtain the Principality of Transylvania, and was once more assisted by the Turks; he was, however, defeated and obliged to retire again to Constantinople where he joined by his wife, who had been released by Leopold, as a preliminary step to offers of accommodation with the Porte. In 1695 the Turks again invaded Hungary, but were repulsed by Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the peace of Carlowicz was finally concluded by the mediation of England and Holland, in which it was determined that Leopold should receive Transylvania, and that the male heirs of his family should be

considered hereditary sovereigns of Hungary, Slavonia, and Transylvania, while the Turks should be permitted to continue their protection of Tökölyi.

From the peace of Carlowicz, a period of still deeper degradation and oppression for Hungary commenced. Leopold treated the kingdom as a conquered province, the peasantry were exposed to every insult from his German soldiers, who were quartered upon them; and the Palatine was converted into a mere agent of the King, who with the Chancellor and Primate of Hungary resided at Vienna. The country was governed by decrees from Austria or by the orders of the military commander, while the offices in the state which had become vacant by the deaths of those murdered by Caraffa, were filled by German favourites or soldiers; corruption, bribery, and intimidation were every where employed to demoralize the people. The coin of the country was absorbed into the Austrian exchequer and barter used instead, and the representatives in the Diet were commanded to accept a Constitution framed by men appointed by the Emperor. Hereditary titles were bestowed upon the Magnates to place them on a level with the Austrian Nobles, by which Leopold hoped to separate the wealthy aristocracy from the "Nobiles," whose proudest boast had ever been, that the laws and Constitution of St. Stephen recognized no difference in every free-born Hungarian.

The avenger of the wrongs of Hungary was in the meantime growing up in the Austrian court itself and under the eye of the Jesuits; with all their skill and artifice, the fathers could not efface the impressions of early youth, or make the son of a Rákoczy forget he was an Hungarian. Tökölyi had closed his earthly career in poverty and neglect, forsaken by all but his faithful and affectionate wife Helena, who died one year before her husband. Her son, Francis Rákoczy, after his

separation from his mother, had been sent into Bohemia to finish his studies, while his sister was placed in an Ursuline convent. Every means were used to induce the boy to enter a monastery and the girl to take the veil, but in vain.

During a temporary absence of her guardian, Juliana Rákoczy married Count Rechheim, the commander-in-chief of Upper Hungary, and soon after her brother Francis returned from a journey through Italy, he united himself to Eleanora, Princess of Hesse Rheinfeld, and retired to his estates in Hungary. Spies were there placed around him, and German soldiers were garrisoned in his castles; the emissaries of France were at that time in Hungary secretly exciting the people to revolt, and Rákoczy was accused of having listened to their overtures; he was accordingly thrown into prison at Neustadt, from whence he escaped at the end of six months into Poland. After a year-and-a-half of exile, the times favoured his return to his native country; the War of Succession was raging in Europe, and the Emperor had been obliged to withdraw many of his troops from Hungary to defend the Empire against the attacks of the Elector of Bavaria. The absence of the German soldiers had been taken advantage of by the oppressed peasantry, who rose in rebellion against their Austrian tyrants; and when Rákoczy appeared in Hungary at the head of a small body of Poles in 1708, the insurgents chose him as their leader. The hopes excited by his arrival occasioned the revolt to become general throughout Upper Hungary, all classes joining to throw off the yoke. Alexander Karolyi, who was sent to suppress the rebellion, represented the alarming state of the country to the Emperor, but Leopold treated him with such scorn, that, indignant at the personal affront he had received, he joined the insurgents. The Emperor himself at length began to think the matter growing serious, and opened negotiations with

Rákoczy, but just at that period the victory of Blenheim, gained by Leopold with the assistance of England and Holland, encouraged him to proceed against his Hungarian subjects, and enabled him to send General Heister, with an army of German mercenaries into Hungary, where their extortions only served still further to incense the people against Austria. The insurgents, commanded by Karolyi, advanced to the very gates of Vienna, when Leopold again offered to negotiate, and promised to respect the Constitution which he had most annulled, but the nation had learnt to distrust the word of a man without honour and without principle. General Heister, however, succeeded in driving the Hungarian army back over the Austrian frontier, and Leopold died soon after, leaving the remembrance of a reign of forty-eight years of mingled cruelty and injustice; he was execrated by his Hungarian subjects whom he had endeavoured to rob of both their political and religious rights, which nevertheless survived him, as they will survive the latest of his successors.

As soon as Joseph I. was established on the throne of Austria he recalled Heister, and offered the Hungarians an amnesty, with a promise to redress their grievances. Though the country was still in a state of too much irritation against the late monarch to be ready to accept terms from his successor, Rákoczy was sincerely desirous of peace. As he could not singly oppose the will of the majority, he summoned Diet, where it was resolved to restore Hungary to its original form of government, a kind of federal union, in which each state or county should continue as heretofore to manage its own local administration, while sending deputies to the general Diet, and all united under one chief, who should bear the title of Duke, as in the days of Árpád. It was with some difficulty that Rákoczy could be persuaded to accept the honour, but as soon as he yielded, he was raised on a shield according to ancient usage, and the Prelates,

Magnates, and deputies of the Diet, swore allegiance to him. The proposals of Joseph to negotiate were then accepted, on condition of his resigning the hereditary claim of his family to the throne of Hungary and Transylvania, and that if he was received as their King, he would abandon the latter country wholly to Rákoczy, and swear to observe the Charter of King Andrew.

These conditions were however rejected, and war recommenced in 1707. The Diet met at Onad, and the deputies from thirty-one out of the fifty counties attended the sitting. Rákoczy again urged them to listen to proposals of peace, which were however again refused; the Hapsburg dynasty was declared to be deposed, and the throne vacant. The Czar of Russia about this time offered to procure the crown of Poland for Rákoczy, but he declined the honour. In 1708, Joseph convoked a Diet at Presburg, which was but thinly attended, and the time was wholly occupied by religious discussions. General Heister entered Hungary with a large army, and encountered Rákoczy at Trentsin: in the heat of the battle, the Prince was thrown from his horse with so much force as to become insensible, and this accident turned the fortunes of the day; when he recovered his faculties all was already lost. Six thousand men lay slain, many captives were taken, and the rest were dispersed by the Austrians.

The Magnates had now begun to weary of the war, which they themselves had continued contrary to the advice of Rákoczy; but when in 1710 he laid before them the proposals of peace sent by Joseph, and offered to resign his office, and release them from their oaths of allegiance to him, they steadfastly refused. The plague had broken out on the frontiers of Turkey, and cut off all communication with the strong places there which still declared for the Hungarian leader, and the promised succour of his ally, the King of France did not arrive. Rákoczy accordingly went

to Poland to demand aid, leaving Karolyi in charge of the troops; but in his absence his general accepted the mediation of England and Holland, and at Szatmar signed a treaty of peace with the Emperor.

Rákoczy perceiving now that all his hope of establishing the liberties of Hungary on a firmer basis were vain, wrote to Joseph and recommended the unhappy Hungarian people to his mercy; then embarking in a vessel at Dantzic, sailed for England, and passed from thence into France. Louis XIV. received him graciously, allowing him a handsome pension, and he was treated with much kindness by his nobles and the ladies who surrounded the King, who were charmed with his romantic history, and his literary taste. But the frivolity of the French court had no attractions for a man, whose hopes had been crushed, and who now wandered an exile from the country for which he had vainly sacrificed the best years of his life. He left France for the shores of the Sea of Marmora, and was there occupied with literary labours until his death in 1735. His memory is ever cherished by Hungary as one of the last of her patriots, and the wild music of the Rákoczy march which then echoed amidst her mountains, and was borne by the winds across her plains, has a century later been heard again in louder strains, and roused the hearts of her people once more to deeds of heroism.

Joseph died in 1711, and Charles III. of Hungary, and the VIth of Germany succeeded to the throne. He resembled the late Emperor in his noble nature and humane cha-

He confirmed the treaty of Szatmar, restored the of St. Stephen, and the jewels, which had been carried during the war, and further, granted complete toleration to the Protestants. Nothing disturbed the peace of his reign until, in 1715, the aggressions of the Turks obliged him to send an army against them, commanded by

Prince Eugene, to whom the Hungarians, led by their Palatine John Apaffy, offered their assistance.

In 1722 Charles convened a Diet at Presburg to demand the consent of the Hungarians to the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the succession to the crown of Hungary, as well as to the empire, was to be secured to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa. The Diet signified their assent, but, at the same time, took the opportunity to reassert their own rights and privileges, and to obtain certain reforms in the laws. In 1736 Maria Theresa married Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, and Charles died in 1740.

The loyalty of a people to their sovereign, when carried so far as to induce them to sacrifice the interests of the nation to his interests and to those of his family, has sometimes rendered the reign of an otherwise good king, more prejudicial to his kingdom than that of a bad. Thus during the three Diets held in the reign of Joseph, several important alterations were made in the Constitution, which have proved a permanent injury to the country. The Hungarian Board of Chancery was established at Vienna, which placed its acts under the superintendence of the Austrian cabinet, and Hungary was governed by foreigners instead of being subject solely to native constitutional ministers, under the King. The sovereign also made Vienna his place of residence, which was equally a violation of the ancient law of Hungary, and a council was appointed at Pesth, to whom the local administration was entrusted. Lastly, as the unprivileged class could not alone defray the expenses of a large standing army for the service of Austria, and the "nobles" could not be legally taxed, an oppressive tariff was imposed on all articles of trade between Hungary and Austria, greatly detrimental to the commerce of the former country.

CHAPTER X.

Kings of the House of Hapsburg Lorraine—Maria Theresa—Joseph II.—Leopold II.—Francis I.—Ferdinand V.

A.D. 1740—1832.

MARIA THERESA was only twenty-three years of age when she succeeded her father. Rival claimants started up on all sides; the Elector of Bavaria asserted that Bohemia and Austria were his, by right of his descent from the elder branch of the female line; Philip V. of Spain laid claim to Hungary, and even France intrigued to dismember the Austrian empire: Frederic of Prussia, who had promised the young Queen his protection, was the first to invade her dominions, and entered Silesia with a large army in December 1740. Confiding in the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, Maria Theresa accepted their invitation to Presburg, in May 1741, to receive the crown of St. Stephen. At her solemn entrance into the city, loud shouts resounded through the streets of, "Long Live our Lady and King." Her first act was to nominate the candidates for the office of Palatine, and Count John Palfi was unanimously chosen by the Diet. Her next was to declare her readiness to take the oath to the Constitution in its original form. The crown, which was only placed on the right shoulder of a Queen consort, now rested on the head of one of the most beautiful and majestic women in Europe, and the vaulted roof of the cathedral rang again with the cries of "Long Live our Lady and King!" After her coronation, according to ancient usage, she rode to the top of the King's Mount, where she waved the sword of St Stephen, north, south, east, and west, to signify her determination to defend the country against all foreign invaders.

The enemies of Maria Theresa were gathering their forces together, and in the autumn of that year, in spite of the remonstrances of those who surrounded her, she determined to appeal for succour to Hungary. She assembled the Prelates, Magnates, and representatives of the kingdom, at Presburg, to the number of nearly 600, and Count Louis Batthyanyi, opening the meeting, explained the cause why they had been thus summoned; the young Queen, with her infant son in her arms, (afterwards the Emperor Joseph II.) then rose from the throne, and addressed her subjects in the Latin tongue.

"The condition to which my righteous cause is reduced, makes it necessary that I should no longer conceal from you the dangers which threaten Hungary. It concerns the security of the Crown of this kingdom, of my person, and of my child. Abandoned by all; attacked by my own relatives, and by my faithless allies, nothing remains for me but to rely on the fidelity, the victorious arms, and warlike valour of the Hungarians. To your protection I resign myself and my child: my last hope rests in your affection and fidelity, and as I repose with confidence upon them, you will not refuse to me and to him your wholesome council and powerful aid." Moved by the tears and beauty of the Queen as much as by her words, the whole assembly drew their swords as by one impulse, exclaiming, "*Vitam et sanguinem moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*" A profound silence followed, when the aged Emeric Esterhazy, the Primate of Hungary, spoke in the name of all present. "The afflicted have heard the words of affliction, and though the Hungarian kingdom is exhausted with much sorrow and suffering, the fidelity and devotion of the States is inalienable, and they are resolved to do all in their power for the preservation of your Majesty, and of your well-founded rights. We acknowledge

your Majesty as the inseparable soul of the body of this kingdom, and I bear witness before God, before heaven, and earth, of the justice of your birthright for which jealous enemies, in an incomprehensible manner, put forth contradictory claims. Therefore, once again, we are ready with our united strength, our possessions, our blood, our bodies, and our lives, to defend your Majesty."

A committee was that day appointed under the presidency of the Palatine, John Palfi, to consider by what means they could best avert the danger which became daily more imminent; the French had already seized Prague, and before January, 1742, Bohemia yielded to the united arms of France and Prussia. Three thousand Hungarian "Nobles" immediately entered Silesia, in order to check the advance of the Prussians, and, when the Palatine raised the red flag of war in Hungary, the people flew to arms. Twelve thousand Croats, and the inhabitants of the country near the Save, the Drave, and the Theiss, offered their services to the Queen, who, in return, granted to all the peasantry who took up arms in her defence, the rights and privileges of freemen. Even the clergy raised a large subsidy among themselves for the war, but happily the King of Prussia consented to peace in July of the same year, and the treaty, by which he obtained the whole of Silesia, was signed at Berlin, under the guarantee of England. Success attended the Austrian arms on all sides; the French minister made overtures of peace, but the terms proposed by Maria Theresa were such that they could not have been accepted with honour by France; the war was therefore prolonged until 1744, when the King of Prussia again joined the enemies of Austria. A series of disasters followed, but Maria Theresa, nothing daunted, once more appealed to the Hungarian nation. She sent her own horse to the Palatine, with a sword, a ring, and these words:—

“FATHER PALFI,

“I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted by none but the most zealous of my faithful subjects: receive, at the same time, a sword to defend me against my enemies, and take this ring as a token of my affection for you.

“MARIA THERESA.”

This appeal called forth another burst of enthusiasm from one end of the kingdom to the other. A large army was immediately raised, and sent into Bohemia, from which Frederic was soon forced to retire. The death of the Elector of Bavaria opened the way for the election of the husband of Maria Theresa to the Empire; and through the mediation of England, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was at length concluded in 1748, when a reconciliation was effected between Austria, Poland, Prussia, and France, and the Empress left in quiet possession of all her hereditary dominions, as well as of the Low Countries. The pragmatic sanction was thus recognised in Europe.

Hungary had, in the mean time, enjoyed peace and internal security; and agriculture and commerce had flourished notwithstanding the restrictive laws and regulations of Joseph the First. After the conclusion of the war, the Queen had leisure to turn her whole attention to her ambitious schemes of extending her power and dominion at home. To unite into one vast empire the varied nations and races over which she ruled, to introduce one language, one law, and to reign over the whole with despotic sway, were the aim and policy of her life. For this purpose the great Magnates of Hungary were invited to her Court, and taught to regard their own language and manners as barbarous, and to forget the duties they owed to their native land. While striving to undermine the Protestant religion and the Constitution in Hungary, her conduct was guided

with so much artifice and skill, that she continued to retain the affections of the people. Although she expelled the Jesuits from the kingdom, the Protestants had to endure so severe a persecution, that Frederic of Prussia felt himself called upon to interfere in their behalf: she, further, left the office of Palatine vacant after the death of John Palfi; seldom convoked a Diet, and issued royal decrees which, if not acknowledged as legal, were at least obeyed. By them she contrived to insinuate measures which conduced to the power of the monarchy, by apparently conferring privileges on the people, while in fact they were only the confirmation of old laws or usages. Thus she endeavoured to weaken the influence of the "Nobiles," by courting the favour of the peasantry in the celebrated *Urbarium*,* by which she defined and recognized the rights of the unprivileged order. She died in 1780, leaving six sons and ten daughters.

Joseph the Second ascended the throne in the forty-first year of his age. He had been long occupied in training himself for the task which lay before him. His was a common mistake, not unnatural in a benevolent man placed in a position of power and authority; he believed that, singly, he could remodel the nations over which he was called to govern, and that he could induce several millions of human beings to acquiesce in that form of government which he considered most likely to conduce to their well-being and happiness. Like some of the earliest and best kings of Hungary, he travelled through every part of his future kingdom, studying the character of the people and their institutions; but, instead of laying the result of his observations before the Diet, he determined to act upon his own responsibility, to abolish the ancient

* For further explanation of the *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa, see *Memoir of Kossuth*, Chap. iii.

constitutions of the land, and, following the example of his mother, to amalgamate the various nations, over which he reigned, into one great empire.

He commenced by forbidding the exercise of separate jurisdictions in the counties of Hungary, and by forming an entirely new system of administration; he next refused to be crowned, because he was too conscientious to swear to a Constitution he had determined to abolish. As the Hungarians acknowledge no sovereign who has not bound himself to maintain their laws and institutions by his coronation oath, Joseph has never been included in the list of their kings; though to prevent the possibility of another being crowned in his stead, he carried off the crown of St. Stephen, with the regalia, to Vienna. He further forbade the use either of the Latin or Hungarian language in official matters, and ordered the substitution of the German. The Comitâts, or County Meetings, and the Municipal Institutions, opposed his innovations, and were therefore abolished, and a German form of administration introduced in their stead. When the Hungarians refused to accept the new order of things, Germans were appointed to carry on the government in all parts of the kingdom. At the same time he swept away, unscrupulously, all convents and monasteries, and bestowed their wealth upon schools and colleges, granted toleration to Protestants, conferred several important privileges on the peasantry, and endeavoured to equalize taxation among all classes. But even these salutary reforms failed in their intended effect, from the despotic manner in which they were forced upon the people; and because they were associated in their minds with the foreign rule introduced by Joseph. Above all, they murmured at the detention of the crown of St. Stephen in the Austrian capital.

An attempt was made at rebellion; but the King commanded all disobedience to be put down by an armed force.

He next summoned a Diet, but the Nobles refused both subsidies and soldiers, and German troops were immediately sent into the kingdom. Happily, his reverses in a war he was carrying on against the Turks obliged Joseph to yield, in some measure, to the wishes of his Hungarian subjects, before they had broken out into open insurrection. Towards the end of his reign he consented to return the crown of St. Stephen, and promised to submit to his coronation; but before he could fulfil his promise, he died in 1790, expressing, in his last moments, the conviction that his labours had been vain. On his tomb he directed there should be inscribed these words:—

“Here lies Joseph, a Sovereign who, with the best intentions, never succeeded in a single project.”

Bonfires and illuminations, throughout Hungary, celebrated the death of one who was a better man than king.

The crown of St. Stephen was carried in triumph to Buda, and placed in the cathedral amidst the rejoicings of the people. A large and powerful party at first declared themselves against the succession of Leopold, the brother of Joseph; but the new King who had long governed Tuscany with wisdom and moderation, met the people in a spirit which overcame all opposition. He forgave the excitement caused by a sense of recent injuries, and the new ideas derived from the revolution in France, received the address sent him from Pesth graciously, and determined to act in compliance with the wishes of the people, and to govern as a constitutional monarch. The address declared that, “from the rights of nations and of men, and from that social compact whence states arise, it was indisputable that the sovereignty was derived from the people” . . . that, “as the Constitution of Hungary placed the government jointly in the King and the people, in such a manner that the means necessary for the security of person and property were in their power,

they trusted that in the approaching Diet his Majesty would restore their freedom to them as he had already done to the Belgians, who had obtained theirs by the sword; as the example which would teach a people that they could only protect or recover their liberties by a resort to arms, was fraught with danger," &c.

Leopold immediately convened a Diet, and after recognizing the Constitution and the freedom and independence of the nation, consented to be crowned. On this occasion he assumed the national costume of Hungary, and his fourth son Alexander was chosen Palatine. Still further to secure the liberty of the kingdom decrees were issued, "defining the powers and duties of the King, and the rights of the nation." Some of the most important articles were as follows; that "within six months after the death of the King, his successor shall be crowned at Presburg, and shall take an oath to observe the laws, liberties, and privileges of the kingdom;" that "Hungary is a free and independent kingdom, in no way subordinate to any other people or kingdom, and is to be governed by its lawfully crowned King, not according to the customs of the other hereditary dominions, but according to its own laws, rights, and customs;" that "the right of making, repealing, and interpreting the laws belongs to the lawfully crowned King and to the states of the realm in the Diet assembled conjointly; and that this right cannot be exercised except in the Diet of the nation;" that "the King shall never attempt to govern by edicts or patents, which moreover it shall not be lawful for any authorities to receive, except where such patents are merely designed for the more effectual publication of ordinances legally enacted;" that "the imposts shall never be levied by the King, but freely voted by the Diet;" that "the Diet shall for the future be assembled every three years, and oftener if the public welfare render it necessary," &c. &c.

Entire religious toleration was granted, and the reign of Leopold promised well for the peace and happiness of Hungary, when his sudden death, supposed to have been occasioned by poison, in revenge for some private injury, put an end to all the hopes of the people.

He was succeeded in 1792 by his eldest son, the Emperor Francis I., who had just attained his twenty-sixth year. Louis XVI., of France, was at that time in the hands of his subjects, and all the sovereigns of Europe felt their thrones tottering beneath them. The King of Prussia, and Leopold had met at Pilnitz, and determined to attempt the deliverance of the French King. But while sovereigns were combining to support the principle of monarchy, the people of all the nations of Europe were in communication with the republicans of France. The approaching struggle might rather be considered one for power, than for order on one side, or liberty on the other. Kings had long forgotten for what purpose they were placed upon their thrones, and the people who had been for centuries oppressed to gratify the vanity and ambition of worthless Princes, now dazzled and blinded by the new dawn of liberty, threw down all the partitions which secured the harmony and well-being of society, while destroying the barrier which had so long excluded them from the broad light of heaven.

Many of the youth of Hungary were in correspondence with the leaders of the revolution in France, and a party was formed, led by a Franciscan friar of the name of Martinovics, to overthrow the government. About this time the Palatine Alexander, who was much beloved by the people, happened to be at Vienna when an explosion of fireworks took place in which he was killed; it was asserted to have been accidental, but as it was known that the young Emperor, and others in Austria, entertained fears that he might aspire to the crown of Hungary, various strange

rumours were credited respecting his end. Numerous arrests immediately afterwards took place in Hungary, and while some of the adherents of Martinovics were put to death, others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In the meantime the Austrians had met with so many reverses in their wars against the French, that Francis was obliged to convoke a Diet at Presburg to demand new subsidies for its continuance. While granting these, with the condition that the Hungarian troops should be only commanded by Hungarian officers, the states expressed their disapprobation of the war, and of all interference in the internal affairs of France. In December, 1801, the Arch-Duke John was totally defeated in the battle of Hohen Linden, which was followed by a series of victories on the side of the French, ending with the peace of Luneville. The Hungarian troops had distinguished themselves so much during the whole campaign by their valour and fidelity, that the Emperor paid them the most flattering compliments at its conclusion. In May, 1802, he convoked the third Diet in his reign, to consider "the means to secure the welfare of the kingdom, to relieve the people from the heavy burden of taxation, and to accelerate public business." This announcement from the King raised the greatest hopes in the nation; but to their disappointment it ended in mere words, and in a command to the Diet to find means for the maintenance of the Hungarian army in its full complement, and to increase the royal revenue by two million gulden. In return, his Majesty promised at the dissolution of the Diet, that an inquiry would be made into the grievances complained of in the country.

When the ambition of Napoleon threatened all Europe, Francis summoned another Diet in August, 1805, to demand a fresh grant of soldiers and money. In reply, the States recapitulated their grievances, but the approach of the enemy obliged them to defer all such questions to the next

Diet. On the 18th November, Murat entered Vienna, and Napoleon Schonbrunn, and on the 2nd December the battle of Austerlitz was fought; the peace of Presburg, which immediately followed, rendering the contingent of Hungarian troops unnecessary, the army was disbanded, and the nobles returned to their homes.

In 1807 a fifth Diet was summoned. The King, in person, appeared at the second sitting, and delivered a list to the Palatine of what he required from his Hungarian subjects; first, that they should furnish him, without delay, with a larger subsidy than had yet been granted for the pay of the soldiers; secondly, that all the vacancies occasioned by death or other causes in the standing armies should be filled up, and that the "insurrection" or levy of Nobles, should be ready to march; further, that the States should consider how they could best maintain the credit of the government, and support the country in the present exhausted state of the Treasury, and that they should prepare the form of a Constitution for the better administration of justice, and to promote the interests of commerce by the introduction of a court for the regulation of the Exchange. The Diet protested against the mal-administration of the finances, and declared themselves in favour of the principle of free trade; and the two Chambers differed as to the amount of the subsidy to be granted to the King. His Majesty threatened to dissolve them, but was met with a remonstrance, that he could not lawfully exercise this privilege until they had decided upon those questions for which they were summoned, and until the royal demands were satisfied, and a remedy applied to the grievances complained of in the kingdom. Nine days afterwards, Francis declared that it was his intention to dissolve the Diet by his own free will and pleasure, and though both chambers dissented, they submitted on the 11th December following.

In August, 1808, the Diet was again convened for the

coronation of the King's third wife, Maria Ludovica d'Este, on which occasion the Queen's brother, Charles Ambrosius, was made Archbishop of Gran. The Diet was admonished by Francis to be careful of their conduct during this session; and he bade them look around, and see how the constitutions, laws, and liberties of neighbouring states had been lately abolished. The day the Diet had been summoned, however, the King had received information from Metternich (his ambassador in Paris), that certain communications from Napoleon made the war inevitable, and as it was therefore necessary to conciliate the good will of the Hungarians, Francis restored to the deputies their ancient right of the initiative in the Diet; and in his speech from the throne, as well as those from the Queen and the Primate, ample justice was done to the valour of the Hungarian people in the late wars. Apprised of the dangers which threatened the empire, the States permitted the King, after consulting with the Palatine, Primate, and Ban of Croatia, to call upon the "insurrection," or levy of "Nobiles," to aid him in his distress. Hungary thus, with an imprudent generosity, continued to involve herself in heavy expenses, and to expose the lives of her people to preserve the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburg family.

The attention of the representatives was also called to the foundation of a national academy for the instruction of youth, which had been suggested by the munificent gift of Count Francis Széchenyi, who in the preceding Diet had presented his Hungarian library, containing manuscripts and other collections, to the nation. The King immediately granted a building for the academy, and the Queen presented to it fifty thousand gulden, and requested it should bear the name of Ludovica. The Diet and the King separated with the most amicable feelings towards each other, and Francis thus concluded his parting speech: "*We were*

united, we *are* united, we *shall remain* united until God parts us; this is the desire of the King, your father, who loves you tenderly as sons."

The Hungarians, won by the fair speeches of the King, raised another army to assist him in his wars against France, in which Hungary had no concern. They paid dearly for this stretch of generosity, when a few years later they were involved in the bankruptcy of Austria. Napoleon had again entered Vienna, when he learnt that upwards of thirty-eight thousand Hungarians were preparing to cross the frontiers. In hopes of inducing the nation to take part with him against Austria, he sent them the following address:—

" Hungarians !

" The Emperor of Austria, in violation of our treaties, and ungrateful for my generosity towards him in three consecutive wars, especially that of 1805, has again attacked my armies. I have repelled this unjustifiable aggression. Hungarians! The moment for the recovery of your independence has arrived! I offer you peace, the preservation of your country, of your liberty, of your institutions. Assemble in your national Diet, upon the plain of Rákös, according to the usage of your forefathers, and make known to me your determination.

" NAPOLEON."

The Hungarians, however, refused to listen to the proposals of the French Emperor, and continued faithful in their allegiance to Francis, who sought refuge among them while Napoleon was at Vienna. On the plains of Rákös, Eugène Beauharnais defeated the Hungarian army, after which all the provinces on the Adriatic were annexed to the French Empire. Count Metternich, who had hitherto been the Austrian Ambassador to France, was now appointed Prime Minister, an office he continued to hold for thirty-eight

years, and was the adviser and promoter of those measures which tended to destroy constitutional liberty. Like Maria Theresa, he aimed at bringing all under the despotic sway of the monarch, a policy which he openly avowed, and maintained to be most conducive to the general happiness of the people. In 1810 the Arch-Duchess Maria Louisa, the eldest daughter of the Emperor, was married to Napoleon.

The following year the Diet was summoned for the seventh time, to meet the exigencies of the state. To the consternation of all present, the King announced that 1060,790,755 gulden were required to restore the credit of the Austrian bank notes. He further laid before the representatives a scheme, by which he expected to reduce the quantity of paper money issued, and at the same time to prevent a stoppage. He proposed to lower the value of the notes by one-fifth, and afterwards to raise the fund necessary to guarantee them, at this reduced valuation. To effect this, it was imperative that the whole Empire should contribute their share, and he therefore requested the Prelates, Magnates, and Deputies, to consider in what manner the kingdom should be taxed. "When this matter was finally arranged," the King continued, "the representatives might proceed to the consideration of the affairs touching the internal administration of the country, which, if time did not permit, might be postponed to the next Diet." The reply of the states was to the following effect.

The executive power must be exercised in Hungary according to the laws; the King possesses the legislative power in conjunction with the Diet; therefore Hungary can never be ruled by edicts. The financial system is not only closely connected with the economy of the state, but also with the regulation of commerce and the taxation of the land; it must therefore be inquired into by the assembly of

the states according to the laws of the kingdom. If the laws bestow the right of coinage on the King, they bestow upon him nothing less than the exclusive right to fix the value of money. If to introduce paper money, issue notes, and lower their value be also a prerogative of royalty, then all property becomes ~~insecure~~ and the object of the connexion of the King with the Diet is abrogated. Should the principle contained in the royal rescript to the several legal authorities, and in the royal letters be maintained, the states must fear, not only for their ancient rights and liberties, but also that all private property will be at the disposal of an absolute power. If paper money can be issued at pleasure, be confounded with the property of the citizens, and according to circumstances be increased or diminished in value, what can the freeholders call their own? and what is the purpose of those laws which empower the Diet to regulate the subsidies and the taxation of the land? The King has indeed assured us he will not increase the quantity of paper money; but as long as he retains the power to issue paper and lower its value, the evil remains the same, as it might easily happen that the necessity which made the introduction of paper money inevitable may return, &c.

This document was laid before Francis, and the more determined he was to carry out his financial scheme, so much the more was the Diet resolved to withhold their consent. The King, indignant that the Hungarians should persevere in refusing to pay debts incurred by Austria (in whose cause they had already lavished so many sums in the late wars), ordered the Diet to be dissolved in 1812, by the new Palatine, the Arch-Duke Joseph,* and the Primate, as the royal commissioners.

From 1812, Francis summoned no Diet until 1825. In the interval, assisted by Metternich and his Austrian ministers,

* Brother of Francis.

he endeavoured as far as possible to destroy the Hungarian Constitution, and establish a despotism in Hungary as in the rest of his dominions. In 1815, the Hungarians ventured to remind him of the promises he had made to redress their grievances, at a time when they voluntarily gave their blood and treasure to assist him* in the wars against Napoleon. Far from complying with their wishes, other grievances were added; the counties were forbidden to elect their own officers, and when in 1822 the Emperor, alarmed by the movements of the Carbonari in Italy, wanted money and soldiers, he endeavoured to levy taxes in Hungary without the consent of a Diet. The Comitats loudly protested against this infringement of their constitution, and Francis vainly endeavoured to gain his point by force. He was therefore obliged to summon a Diet in 1825, and again in 1832; while it was still sitting he died, leaving the Empire to his half imbecile son, Ferdinand V.* of Hungary, and I. of Austria, who was wholly under the guidance of Metternich and of his uncle the Arch-Duke Louis, a man of a stubborn temper and narrow capacity.

Francis left behind him a character for harshness and cruelty; he was ignorant, suspicious, narrow-minded, and selfish. He had gained a sort of popularity amongst the lower orders of the people, whom he flattered by speaking to them in their own dialect, and by ridiculing all cultivation of mind.

Hungary was left to the administration of the Palatine Arch-Duke Joseph, a man of considerable ability and with a true love of his country, but wanting energy to contend against the intrigues and despotic measures of the Cabinet of Vienna.

* Ferdinand, the son of Ferdinand III., who died before his father had been crowned King of Hungary, and was therefore recognised among the sovereigns. See p. 128.

HUNGARY
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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MEMOIR
or
LOUIS KOSSUTH.

MEMOIR OF KOSSUTH.

CHAPTER I.

Hungary in the Nineteenth Century.

IN order to form a just estimate of the life and labours of Louis Kossuth, it will be necessary to give a brief description of Hungary, and the state of its laws and institutions, at the commencement of this century.

The vast plain which lies in the centre of the kingdom produces sufficient corn to enable it to become the granary of Europe: wheat can in some parts be grown for twenty years consecutively on the same fields without fresh manure; Indian corn yields on an average 25,000,000 bushels annually; rye, barley, oats, lucerne, hemp, flax, and tobacco, are successfully cultivated, and though there is almost an entire absence of wood in the Southern part of the kingdom, the forests of the North and East are extensive enough to supply foreign markets, besides that which is necessary for home consumption. The wines of Tokay are celebrated throughout the world, while other vintages are gathered of high value, whose wines equal those of France and Spain, though little known beyond the boundaries of the Austrian Empire. Herds of cattle, vast flocks of sheep, and droves of swine,

besides a small but active and hardy breed of horses, feed in the wide pasture lands of the plain, and mines of gold, silver, iron, coal and salt, opal and other precious stones are worked in the South-east, and in the Carpathian Mountains of the East and North. Great rivers traverse the country, affording means of transport, which are the more needed, since the absence of wood and stone in the rich alluvial soil of the plain, renders the construction of good roads very expensive.

Hungary is composed of Upper and Lower Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia. It is bounded on the North by Moravia and Galicia, on the East by the Bukovina and Moldavia, on the South by Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, and on the West by Illyria, Styria, and Austria Proper. The land is peopled by those various races which have poured into it during many centuries; but time has amalgamated some, and destroyed others, so that only a few still retain their distinctive qualities and names. Some enjoy peculiar rights and privileges, which have descended to them from their fathers, but all are alike subjected to the laws framed by the Hungarian Diet. The Slaves now principally inhabit the West and North, while other branches of the same race occupy Croatia and Slavonia in the South, and tribes which though distinct in name appear to have one origin, such as the Russniaks, Serbs, &c., &c., are scattered throughout the whole of Hungary. The Slaves are chiefly Roman Catholics, yet not an inconsiderable number profess the Lutheran faith; they are naturally slow in comprehension, and apt to be servile to their superiors, but with the exception of the Saxon, they are the most industrious race inhabiting Hungary, though their too frequent vice of drunkenness unhappily prevents them reaping the fruits of their industry, and leaves them among the least prosperous of the peasantry. The Germans or

Saxons are found in all parts of Hungary, as well as in Transylvania, where in the so-called Saxon district they form a distinct colony. They, like the Slaves, are for the most part Roman Catholics, though many also are Lutherans. The Wallacks of Transylvania, are in a lower state of civilization than any other race in the country. They are said to be treacherous, revengeful, and cowardly, but as they have been long subjected to oppression and ill-treatment from their superiors (whether their own countrymen or foreigners), their character is naturally deteriorated: They are besides ignorant and superstitious (all being members of the Greek Church), but have shown good qualities when treated with kindness. Szeklers, Magyars, and an industrious colony of Saxons, also inhabit Transylvania. Jews are met with in all parts of the country, and are better treated in Hungary than in most other European nations; the prejudice against them, so general elsewhere, being here confined to the German population. They are often employed as middlemen by the wealthy "Nobiles," keep the public houses, and pursue their usual avocation of money lenders, for which there is a large demand in a country where coin is scarce. Their religion is tolerated on the payment of an annual tax. The southernmost part of Hungary, called the Banat, is peopled by many races; Germans, Greeks, Turks, Wallacks, French, and Italians, who towards the close of the last century were induced to settle in its rich plains, by the low prices at which the land was at that time sold by the Austrian Government, in order to hold out a temptation to colonists. As each group retains its own language and manners, there is here, perhaps, more variety of national customs, than can be found within so limited a geographical space in any other part of Europe. The Magyars, numerically greater than any race in Hungary, and who, while inhabiting the whole of the extensive central plain, are

scattered throughout the country, are a powerful and handsome people, retaining the strong lines of character peculiar to their ancestors, as yet unobliterated by the influence of modern civilization; with much passionate eagerness of voice and gesture, they are dignified yet courteous in their manners. Their most striking characteristics are their attachment to the ancient institutions of their country, and the fervour of their devotional feelings, to whatever creed they may chance to belong. They are frank and generous, loving the freedom which has now become traditional more than real, and grateful to those who have striven, however vainly, to preserve it in its last hour. The wandering Gypsies must not be omitted in an enumeration of the races which inhabit Hungary. They first appeared there about the commencement of the fifteenth century; and frequent attempts have been made, but in vain, to induce them to settle, and abandon their vagrant habits. Some enlist as soldiers, but their occupations are chiefly brickmaking and farriery. They are also the best musicians in the country, and as such, they are summoned to perform at the feasts of the aristocracy, as well as at the dances of the peasantry. Paget in his work on Hungary and Transylvania, mentions a Gypsy lad of fourteen, who was an accomplished violinist, and had studied under Strauss at Vienna.

The characteristics of each race are softened, and become less remarkable in the higher or educated classes. Foreigners are rarely met with travelling in the country, and the inns are few and bad; but those who are tempted by curiosity to visit this remote part of Europe, which railroads are daily bringing nearer, and despotism daily throwing further back, always meet with cordial hospitality and a hearty welcome in the homes of the Hungarian gentlemen, where they find luxuries and refinements they have not been led to anticipate. The men belonging to the higher classes, edu-

cated in one or other of the many collegiate establishments of their native land, spend a portion of each year in the larger cities, if not in Pesth or Vienna. They are, therefore, only to be distinguished from foreigners of a similar rank in life by a certain simplicity, or absence of artificial conventionality, united with a consciousness of personal dignity peculiar to a nation of oriental origin. The polish of education does not deprive them of the fire and ease of expression peculiar to their nation, and they retain the picturesque costume which has descended to them from their ancestors.

All the descendants of the first Magyar settlers or of those belonging to other races who have obtained a grant of land or letters patent from the King, are called "Nobiles;"* they cannot legally be subjected to corporal punishment and they have the right to elect their own magistrates. At the commencement of this century their property was still secured to them free from all payment of taxes, tithes, or contributions; they paid no tolls, and soldiers could not be quartered upon them; they alone could send members to the Diet, or National Legislature; and could act as Representatives, as Governors of Counties, or even as District Judges. The term "Nobiles" was by no means limited to men of rank, wealth, or influence; the larger number were, in many respects, except in the advantages already enumerated, together with certain others of a similar nature, on a level with the unprivileged class. Their chief prerogatives lay in the inviolability of their persons, except in cases of high treason; their being subject to none but their legally crowned King, and their exemption from taxation; their property was supposed to be the gift of the sovereign, and to be held on the sole condition of military service, if the country

* See page 9.

were threatened by foreign invasion. At their deaths, in default of heirs, the property devolved to the state.

The unprivileged class included a large number of the most intelligent men in Hungary, physicians, professors in various branches of learning, the protestant clergy, &c., but the majority consisted of the rustic population, or peasantry, whose lot in many parts of the country was as happy as it could be, under circumstances which deprived them of the means of asserting their political independence, and their rights as men and citizens. They were well fed and well clothed; their "Bunda" or sheep-skin cloak, which like the plaid of the Scotch Highlander, was a sure protection from the extreme cold of winter, and the scorching heat of summer, cost them two pounds English at the lowest; when ornamented, it was often valued at ten or twelve. Their houses, in which when Protestants, their well-used bibles and hymn-books were usually found, were clean and well furnished; if Catholics, a crucifix or picture of the Virgin adorned the walls. The Wallacks formed an exception to this state of prosperity, for like our low Irish and Scotch they were habitually dirty, and often even ragged; the peasantry of other races also, not excepting the Magyar, when unhappy enough to be subjected to a harsh landlord, or left to the mercy of agents, became careless and dirty in their habits, and given to intoxication. But even when in the enjoyment of physical comforts, the condition of the peasantry was, unhappily, dependant on the will of others; the gratuitous justice they received was dispensed according to the caprice of an arbitrary lord, who acted as their judge; power was sometimes cruelly abused, and corporal punishment could be exercised by the petty tyrant of a village. But all improvement in their condition in Hungary, as well as all means of progress, was checked and

impeded by a foreign government. Though the taxes were paid by the unprivileged class alone, they were, however, permitted to elect their own tax-gatherers in the persons of the Biro or Village Judge, and his Jurassores or assistants; and were therefore generally satisfied with the manner in which this unwelcome duty was performed. This election was one of the few rights appertaining to the peasantry. The Lord of the Manor nominated three of their number, from whom they chose their judge.* Reading, writing, and respectability of character were indispensable qualifications; his duties were confined to collecting the taxes, furnishing the appointed number of conscripts for the Austrian army, seeing that the soldiers were fairly quartered among the peasantry, apprehending rogues and vagabonds, settling the disputes in the village, and punishing petty offences.

The fifty-two Counties of Hungary had each a separate administration independent of the Diet, or National Legislative Assembly. The Fo Ispány,* or Lord Lieutenant of each County, was appointed by the King. His duties were, however, generally performed by the Vice Ispány, or Deputy Lieutenant, elected by the "Nobiles," who also elected the several municipal officers under him. The Fo Ispány, or Vice Ispány, was by law obliged to convene a meeting of all the "Nobiles" and Catholic clergy of the County, four times at least in the course of every year. In these Comitäts or County meetings, the conduct of the Diet was discussed, and instructions sent to their deputies how they were to vote. The care and management of the local affairs of the country devolved upon them, and even the decrees of the sovereign were submitted to their approval. If, as was sometimes the case, these were considered unconstitutional, they were respectfully laid aside. These meetings served

* See page 12.

to educate the people for political life, taught them their own interests, and the value of institutions which promote order and method in the conduct of public affairs. It is true, that scenes much the reverse of order took place during the elections, and that violence and shameless bribery were frequently used, but these were evils which admitted of remedies; they did not belong to the institutions, but to the men, and the benefit of an early lesson in self-government outweighed the temporary evils which it brought along with it.

The Municipal Government of the royal boroughs or towns which were chiefly of German origin, or composed of the peasantry who had been induced to settle in them, was not so independent as those of the *Comitáts*. The "*Köszeg*" or Common Council, and the "*Senatus*" or Board of Aldermen were self-elected, and retained their situations for life, while the "*Polgár Nester*" or Mayor, the "*Város Biro*" or Judge, and the "*Város Capitány*" or Head of the Police, were elected annually. They were all nominated by the crown, and from the limited number of candidates, and the ease by which corruption and intimidation could be used within the narrow precincts of a city, the Royal Commissioner had an undue influence in every election. The boroughs were therefore accused of being mere tools of government. To add to their dependence, the "*Senatus*" could not dispose of any amount of public money, exceeding six pounds, without the permission of the King, and this permission was never granted when the citizens hesitated to accede to the royal demands, or in any way showed themselves refractory. For this reason, the "*Nobiles*" refused the borough members a vote in the Diet, which they were enabled to do, since the cities had only each the privileges of a single "*Nobilis*."

The Diet was composed of two Chambers, the House of

Magnates, and the House of Deputies, the first consisting of the higher Clergy (the Catholic bishops), the Barons and Counts of the kingdom (who derived their dignity from offices conferred by the crown), and of those who were Magnates by birth and title, over whom the Nandor, or Palatine presided. He was elected by the Diet, out of four candidates nominated by the King. The second Chamber, or the Chamber of Deputies, consisted of the deputies from the Counties, the deputies from the towns, the representatives of the chapters of cathedrals, and those of absent Magnates, or the widows of Magnates. The Diet was summoned, prorogued, and dissolved by the King, or his representative. He was obliged by his coronation oath to call it together at least once in three years, and within the boundaries of Hungary. The initiative lay in the Chamber of Deputies, from whence the acts of the Diet passed to the Magnates, and received the royal signature. They were then forwarded to the chief magistrates in every County to be made public. The debates had, in early times, been conducted in the Magyar or Hungarian language, but for several centuries Latin had been used instead. The Palatine was assisted by the Vice-Regal Council, "*Consilium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum*," which had been substituted for the old Hungarian Chancery, when this last was removed to Vienna.* The change took place in the reign of the Emperor King Joseph I.

Transylvania and Croatia had each a separate Diet. The Emperor Leopold I. granted the Charter of Transylvania, the Diploma Leopoldinum, which was confirmed by Maria Theresa, on the condition that the Transylvanian people should accede to the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the crown was to be rendered hereditary in the female line of the House of

* See page 142.

Hapsburg Lorraine. Having secured her object, she forgót her promises to Transylvania, the Diet was gradually allowed to fall into disuse, and the boasted liberty of the people became more nominal than real. The "Nobles" of Croatia and Slavonia, while they sent deputies to the Hungarian Diet, occasionally held one of their own, and enjoyed peculiar privileges, by which they excluded all Protestants from the boundaries of their provinces. They also had a separate court of justice, called the Banat Table, over which the Ban of Croatia presided.

The Catholic Prelates of Hungary were extremely wealthy, though the priests in general were not paid more than was necessary to enable them to fulfil the duties of their office. The Prince Primate, or Archbishop of Gran, enjoyed a royal revenue, besides the exercise of certain rights which in general are the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign. The Protestants had however increased in number, and the Catholic influence had gradually diminished, in spite of the powerful support lent to it by the government. The Protestant church was peculiarly obnoxious to the court, from its democratic form, resembling the Calvinistic churches of Geneva, France, and Scotland: it had, however, gained the ascendant in the affections of the Magyars, and had become the chief guide in all matters which related to education. The Jesuits, were peculiarly jealous of its influence, and the Protestant clergy often fell under the suspicion of the Austrian government. In spite of this it was ever advancing, and numbered about three millions of the population, including most of the intelligence of the country. The Wallacks, Serbs, and Croats, who all professed the Greek religion, were under Russian influence, and their priests were said to be not unfrequently agents of the Czar, by whom he was enabled to carry on his political intrigues.

During the three last centuries, there has been one continued

struggle on the part of Hungary, to preserve herself from the fate of Bohemia, Castile, Valencia, Arragon, Italy, and Germany, where free constitutions, or the Protestant religion, have successively been destroyed or blighted by the Kings and Emperors of the House of Hapsburg. The election of the Austrian monarchs was first secured by the undue influence of the wealthy Magnates, and afterwards by the consent of Hungary to the Pragmatic Sanction, granted on conditions which have never been fulfilled. Oaths have been violated, the blood of thousands has been shed, laws have been broken by the Imperial despots, but Hungary, until within the last six years, still maintained her independent existence. Though a deep and settled hatred of foreign domination had been grafted in the hearts of the people, it seldom extended to the person of the monarch; for so strong was the feeling of loyalty in Hungary, that, in every moment of danger which threatened their sovereign, his faithful Hungarians were the first to defend his cause, and were rewarded by fresh acts of ingratitude, cruelty, and oppression. That loyalty which induced the Hungarians to refuse the offer of Napoleon to restore their right to elect their own sovereign, and which has preserved their fidelity whenever misfortune befel the House of Hapsburg, might still have continued, had not the Austrian Emperors persevered in their determination to convert the country into a province of the empire. Again and again Hungary has been crushed by violence or treachery; and again and again she has risen from the blow, weakened, but not subdued. She is indebted for this extraordinary vitality, to her *Comitâts*, or County meetings; those democratic institutions in an aristocratic guise, which, rude and imperfect as they are, contain the germs of life and strength, and have trained the people in the first elements of self-government. Yet, even among the sons of Hungary some have, in this century,

blindly attempted their destruction, and Austria was rejoicing at the suicidal act, when a strong arm was thrust between them and their aim. Fully aware of the defects as well as the peculiar advantages of these institutions, of the faults as well as the virtues of the Hungarian people, Louis Kossuth cherished hopes for better days from the vigour which had sustained so many shocks, and believed that if the luxury of the court and aristocracy at Vienna rivalled that of Rome in its decline, a wholesome life still breathed in Hungary.

CHAPTER II.

Birth, parentage, and education of Louis Kossuth — Anecdotes of his boyhood — He studies law — Commences practice under his father — Completes his legal education at Pesth — Graduates as an advocate — Returns to Ujhely — Assists as a "Nobilis" at the Comitâts' (County Meetings) — Is appointed lawyer to the Countess Szápary — His passion for the chase — The Polish Revolution of 1830 — The cholera — Revolt of the peasantry — Kossuth addresses the people — He establishes Cholera Hospitals — Jealousy of his influence — Gambling — Becomes delegate for the Countess Szápary at the Diet of 1832 — His mother's parting admonition — He abjures all games of hazard.

A.D. 1802—1832.

IN the little town of Monók, in the County of Zemplin, situated in the neighbourhood of Tokay, lived Andreas Kossuth, a gentleman belonging to the untitled nobility, and descended from an ancient family of the race of the Magyars. His profession was that of an advocate, and he owned a

small landed property in the County, where he was highly esteemed. He was a man of resolute character, stern and inflexible in what he considered right, just in all things, yet with warm and strong affections. Even while absorbed in the duties of his profession, he could not bear to live apart from his family, and would often leave his well-stored library, to sit in the midst of his children, and pursue his studies, undisturbed by the sound of the young voices around him. He left the entire charge of their education to his wife, who was well fitted for the task by her gentle manners and tender disposition, united with an intellect of the highest order.

Their family consisted of one son and four daughters. Lajos, or Louis, the eldest, was born in 1802, and soon after his birth, his parents removed to Ujhély, the principal town of the County of Zemplin. The boy received his first instruction from a young Protestant clergyman, who treated him with the kindness of an elder brother; and who, while taking him long walks into the country, directed his mind to the study of nature. He was afterwards sent for a short time to a school in Ujhély, where the early indication he gave of talents of a superior order, made him a favourite with his masters; from Ujhély he was removed to the Calvinist College of Sáros Patak, at no great distance from his home, between which and the Lutheran College of Eperies, he completed his education.

The characters of both his mother and his father were singularly blended in him, for to an almost feminine tenderness of disposition, he added the stern inflexibility of will, and keen sense of justice of Andreas Kossuth. Many anecdotes are told by those who have known him from his boyhood, which, though of themselves insignificant, marked the future man in the child. It happened that his father, one

day, found him at play with some boys, of whose companionship he did not approve, and desired him to leave the game; Louis obeyed, but was still lingering on the spot when Andreas Kossuth, who had left him there, returned, and hastily concluding the boy had taken advantage of his absence to play again, punished him severely and sent him home in disgrace. His mother missed him at dinner and at supper, and on learning the cause, went in search of him with a message of forgiveness, if he would ask his father's pardon; but Louis, irritated by the injustice with which he had been treated, declared he would sooner die of starvation than beg to be forgiven a fault he had not committed, and his father, who had already repented his own violence, yielded, and received the boy once more into favour. The firmness of character which, without watchful care and judicious treatment, might have degenerated into a vice, had a safeguard in his own affectionate and tender nature, and in that of his mother, who, amidst the trials of her later years, found her greatest consolation in the strength of her son's virtuous resolution. The gentle and endearing features of his character were especially displayed towards his young schoolfellows. One severe day of winter he returned home without his cloak, and when questioned, it was discovered he had bestowed it on a comrade, whose parents were in poor circumstances, and who being thinly clad, was shivering with cold. Another time, his mother was surprised by finding several of Louis's college companions assembled at the door of their house, and to learn from them they had brought him their themes to write, a task he was often in the habit of performing, in addition to his own, to save the idle or incapable from punishment.

The talents he had exhibited as a boy continued to develop with his increasing years, and having entered upon the more

serious studies of his college life, he applied himself to law (which every Hungarian gentleman, whether professional or of independent fortune is required to understand), and having qualified himself for an advocate, he returned home to commence practice under his father. It was in the course of these studies, that he had an opportunity of learning the political state of Hungary, and of becoming acquainted with the numberless abuses which neglect, or, the policy of ambitious rulers, had introduced into her otherwise enlightened constitution. The history of his native country also, rich in incidents of romance, the loyal devotion of her people, and the noble and patriotic struggles of her heroes, were sufficient to kindle the imagination and warm the heart of a nature so ardent, and yet so earnest as that of Louis Kossuth. Though scarcely twenty-one years of age, the superiority of his judgment had unfolded itself in a remarkable degree, and he was consulted in all difficult cases: the father, in a disputed point, generally yielding his opinion to that of his son: his advice also was asked in any affair of importance in his own family, every member of which looked up to him with affectionate respect. At the end of a year he removed to Pesth, to attend the High Courts of Law as a *Juratis*,* and after graduating as an advocate, returned to his native County of Zemplin, and resumed practice under his father.

He had now attained his majority, and took his seat as a "Nobilis" in the *Comitâts* (County Meetings) of Zemplin, where his profound knowledge of law, and his unceasing industry and activity gained for him the confidence of the most distinguished men in the County. The sur-

* *Juratis*. The young nobles who desire to take any part in public life, as well as all the lawyers who have finished the regular course of study, read law and attend the Courts under the name of *Juraten*.—*Page's Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii. p. 567.

prising eloquence also, which he displayed when acting professionally in the County Courts (Sedria) excited much attention. So brilliant a commencement of his career, and the high qualities of his mind, secured for him the friendship of the Countess Szápary, an old lady possessing large estates in the County, who appointed him to the office of her lawyer. The peace and happiness of a community depended much on the conduct of the lawyers who were thus employed, by the great "Nobiles" of Hungary. They had not only to settle the disputes between wealthy proprietors, but those of their numerous dependants. An adjustment of their various claims, and a fair administration of the laws of the country respecting them, devolved upon him alone. Kossuth, in this position, was enabled by personal observation to acquire a more distinct knowledge of the evils attendant on the undue share of power, which the laws of Hungary bestowed on the "Nobiles;" and the unhappy lot of the peasant, even where he had nothing to complain of in the treatment he received from his superior. The manner in which he fulfilled the trust reposed in him may be inferred, from the love with which he was regarded by the peasantry, to whom the lawyer was too often a just object of suspicion and hatred.

He was an ardent sportsman, and at this period of his life, devoted more time to the chase than to his profession. He took particular pleasure in hunting the bear, in pursuit of which he would often spend weeks in the mountains, and was remarkable for his success and dexterity. The cruelty towards animals which is necessarily attendant upon such amusements was however repugnant to his nature; unlike most lovers of the chase, many of his leisure hours were given to literature, and once, when reading the works of Firdusi (the Homer of Persia), he came upon a passage where after describing the death of a young prince by the

hand of his brother, the poet appeals to the general feelings of humanity towards all living things, and concludes with a line calling upon man not to injure the lives of those who have as good a right to live as he. The sentiments of the poem were so accordant with his own, that they awoke reflections, which ended in a resolution never again to indulge in pleasures bought at the expense of animal suffering. The heart which felt so ready a sympathy for the brute creation, was not less alive to the sorrows of his fellow men.

In 1831 the Polish Revolution was crushed, and many unfortunate Poles, driven from their country, sought refuge in Hungary. The Viennese Government, which favoured the interests of Russia, forbade all subjects of the Austrian crown to harbour the rebels against a friendly power. But the sympathy for these unhappy men was too strong in Hungary to allow the mandate to be obeyed. In defiance of Austrian spies and police, the Nobles continued to offer them hospitality, and passing them from one to another, maintained and concealed them in their houses for many years. Among others, the mother of Kossuth, with the consent of her husband, gave a home to the exiles, and strained the little fortune of the family to the utmost, to provide for their necessities. The cholera about this time broke out in Europe and devastated the north of Hungary; as the origin of the disease was unknown, various rumours concerning it were circulated by ill-disposed persons among the ignorant peasantry, who were led to believe the wells had been poisoned by the Priests and Nobles. They rose in masses throughout the country, committing horrible murders and pillage in the houses of the upper classes. These disturbances were believed by many to have been fomented by agents from Russia, in revenge for the sympathy which

had been expressed towards the Poles by the Hungarian Nobles.

The revolt was most alarming in the County of Zemplin, and especially in the village of Tarabesh, which belonged to the Countess Szápary. The peasantry of that district refused to obey the authorities,* who fled for their lives. The insurgents next surrounded and besieged Ujhély, where Kossuth resided with his parents and sisters, but in the midst of the excitement against all in a superior station of life, such was the affection with which he had inspired them, that while attempting to reduce the town by famine, they sent in provisions to him, for himself and his family; yet the bearers refused the wine offered them by his mother lest it should be poisoned. The provisions, such as they were, were liberally dispensed among the starving people, but the citizens at last became so much alarmed, and so impatient under their sufferings, that they proposed to treat with, and even join the insurgents.† At this perilous juncture, Kossuth, for the first time, addressed his countrymen, who assembled in the market place to hear him. He represented to them the delusion they laboured under, in ascribing the calamity of the cholera to the upper classes, and instead of joining the insurgents, he prevailed upon them to arm for the defence of their common country and society, and ward off the violence with which both were threatened. He organized a National Guard on the spot, and declining the command offered him by the enthusiastic populace, prescuted to them as their leader, a retired military officer, residing in Ujhély.

* The authorities of a district are either those elected by the village or communities, or those appointed by the lord, such as the Judge, Notaries, the Steward, Manager of the Estate, &c., &c.

† As the towns were chiefly inhabited by those who had been peasants themselves, they had many interests in common with the rustic population.

He himself proceeded to turn his whole attention to the establishment of hospitals for the cholera patients. There were several large buildings for the manufacture of wine in the vineyards on the outskirts of the town; he persuaded the owners to lend them for the use of the sick, and the inhabitants of Ujhély readily sent in beds, tables, and all that was needed for their accommodation. In the meantime, Kossuth with his sisters, the youngest yet a child, visited the patients both in the hospitals and in private houses, cheering and consoling them by their words and example, and carrying them medicine and all they required. Thus he at that time saved the country from anarchy, and preserved from the fury of the insurgents, the town of Ujhély, and with it, the valuable archives of the County, which were kept in the building where the Comitäts were held. He had, however, roused the jealousy of those, who having themselves deserted the post of duty in the commencement of the disturbances, had lost as much influence with the people as he had gained. It was not long before they made him feel the effect of their enmity.

It was customary for the Vice Ispány or Deputy Lieutenant of a County, to keep open house during the sittings of the Comitäts. The Vice Ispány of the County of Zemplin at this period, was a kind-hearted hospitable man, and a rising young lawyer like Kossuth would have attracted his notice, even if he had not distinguished himself in the manner described; he was, therefore, frequently invited to the house. Kossuth did not escape from the fashionable vice or amusement of young men belonging to the aristocracy; he joined the gambling table in the house of the Vice Ispány, and carried on by the excitement of play, sometimes risked and lost a higher stake than his small means justified. One evening after having received money on the preceding morning for the Countess Szápary, he thoughtlessly staked all he

had about his person, without considering that only part of it was his own. The sum belonging to her did not exceed thirty or forty pounds, which he immediately repaid to her account; but he had been observed by one jealous of his influence, who hastened to report the whole matter to the countess, and to represent Kossuth to her in as disadvantageous a light as possible. Without hesitation, he confessed his fault, and she was so entirely satisfied with his explanation, that she continued to place the same confidence in him as before, and the whole circumstance would have been forgotten, had not the malice of his enemies brought it forward on every occasion. They continued to intrigue against him, until, at the expiration of another year, he resigned his office, and at the election for the Diet of 1832, accepted that of delegate (*ablegatus absentium*)* for the Countess Szűpary and some other Magnates in the county of Pesth.

On his departure his mother bade him farewell in words to this effect: "My son, your acquirements show a capacity which justifies us in entertaining the best hopes for the success of your future career, but your propensity for play makes me tremble lest you should yield to its temptation, as such a vice in you would make my life miserable."

Kossuth gave her a solemn promise that he would never again play for money, and he kept his word.†

* *Ablegatus absentium*. Magnates who did not desire to attend the Diet, or the widows of Magnates could send a deputy, who, however, had no right to vote.

† A statement appeared in the "Times" newspaper of October, 1849, by which Kossuth was accused of "malversation in his younger days of an orphan or education fund." Though this was the first time that many of those who had known him from his youth had ever heard the story, this malicious fabrication of the enemies of Kossuth gained so much credence among the readers of that paper, that it may perhaps

CHAPTER III.

ÆT. 30—34. DIET OF 1832—1836.

Kossuth a delegate.—Diet of 1790—Deputatio Regnicolaris—Grievances—Baron Wesselenyi Miklós—Reform party of 1832—Conservatives—Privileged and unprivileged classes—Condition of the peasantry—Urbarium of Maria Theresa—Proposed reform of the Commercial Code—Proposed reform of the Urbarium—Rejected by the Magnates thirteen times.—Nagy Pál—The Post Kőlcsey—Francis Deak, leader of the Reform Party—Klauzal-Beöthy—Balógh—Wesselenyi joins the Reform Party in the Hungarian Diet—Prosecution of Wesselenyi and Balógh by the Austrian Government—Kossuth speaks on the occasion—He establishes a paper to report the transactions of the Diet—Employs a lithographic press—His press stopped—Writes the reports—Employs messengers for their conveyance—Close of the Diet—Beneficial effects on the country of the Journal of Kossuth.

It was in the Diet of 1832, that Kossuth commenced his political career. Though in his capacity of a delegate from

be as well to state here on what foundation it was built. All "Nobles" possessing large estates in Hungary acted as a kind of guardians to the orphans of the peasantry, and consequently had the administration of the funds for their support. The Fiscal or Law adviser of the lord of the manor was the principal agent to whose management it was confided, the lord himself being the responsible person. If mismanaged or squandered by the lord, or those employed by him, he was bound to replace the money. When Kossuth, therefore, one night gambled away a few pounds belonging to the Countess Szápary, which he immediately refunded, they might be said equally to belong to the Orphan Fund, the Countess Szápary's private purse, her day-labourers, servants, or tradespeople. The first appears to have been selected as most likely to influence the English public against Kossuth, with how much truth and justice, the candid readers of both sides of the question must decide.

a Magnate (*Ablegatus Absentium*) he had no vote, an opportunity was presented to him of learning the duties of a statesman, and of forming his judgment and opinion on questions which affected the future, as well as present, welfare of his country. In the Chamber of Representatives he became acquainted with the leaders of the Liberal or Reform Party, and commenced a friendship with the Transylvanian patriot, Baron Wesselenyi Miklós, and with other men of influence and importance, whose society assisted to form his character, and prepare him for the events in which he was destined to play so prominent a part.

During the Diet of 1790, a Committee (*Deputatio Regnicolaris*) had been instituted to revise the laws of the country, and submit a systematic plan of reform to the Legislature. The result of their labours was not presented for forty years: and the only questions which had been discussed in the Diets, which intervened between 1790 and 1825, related to the demands of Austria for money and troops, to enable her to carry on her wars against France. The Reform Diet of 1825 produced little, except an acknowledgment from the Emperor, King Francis the First, that he had committed an illegal act in attempting to levy taxes on the nation without the consent of the Diet, and a promise, on his part, not to repeat the offence. In the Diet of 1830, which succeeded that of 1825, the report of the Committee (*Deputatio Regnicolaris*) of 1790, was laid before the House. Fourteen especial grievances were selected, and remedies suggested. These, according to Paget, were:—"That Dalmatia, Transylvania, Galicia, and Lodomania should be re-incorporated into Hungary; that the military frontiers should be placed under the command of the Palatine, and governed by Hungarian laws;* that the duty on salt should

* The Border Guard of the military frontiers, was a peculiar institution for the protection of the frontiers, which consists of a

be reduced; that the edicts of government to officers of justices should be discontinued; that the laws respecting the taxes on the clergy should be observed;* that the Hungarian Chancery be made really, and not merely nominally, independent of the Austrian Chancery; that the coinage should bear the arms of Hungary, and that the exportation of gold and silver should be prevented; that the paper money should be abolished, and return made to a metallic currency; that the Hungarian language should be used in all official business; that the fiscal estates—such as have fallen to the crown, on the extinction of the families to whom they were granted, should, as the law directs, be given only as the reward of public services, and not sold, as at present, to the highest bidder; and, lastly, that spies should not be employed and trusted by the Austrian government." These were not new laws, but only a proposal to enforce those which were already in existence; and yet so averse was the Viennese government to all independent action on the part of Hungary, that no favourable answer could be obtained to these demands.

An attempt was made, at this time, by the "Nobles" of

military force, thrown round one half of the circumference of Hungary. They had certain grants of land and privileges in return for their service, but instead of being a national force, they received all their commands from the Council of War in Vienna. German was taught exclusively in their schools, and the German language was used as the language of the service. The Hungarian Diet had no control over them. The regular disposable force amounted to thirty-four thousand, eight hundred, and twenty-seven men, and when all united, and the reserve (*Landwehr*) called out, to two hundred thousand. See *Paget's Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii. p. 93.

† The *Subsidium Ecclesiasticum* paid by the Bishops, Abbots, and Provosts for the maintenance of fortifications, amounted to upwards of 121 florins.—*Neueste Statistisch Geographische Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn*, 1832.

the sister country of Transylvania, urged on by the patriotic zeal of Baron Wesselenyi Miklós, to recover their ancient liberties, and to revive the constitutional forms which had been discontinued by the arbitrary decrees of Austria; his exertions procured permission from the Viennese government to re-assemble the old County meetings, and he and his friends obtained a right to attend them all, by the purchase of lands in each County of Transylvania as well as in Hungary. They took advantage of these opportunities to rouse the Transylvanian people to a sense of their grievances, and Wesselenyi boldly declared his intention to refuse his permission to quarter soldiers upon the peasantry of his estates, unless the Diet of Transylvania were again summoned. The government alarmed at these demonstrations, deputed General Vlasits to inquire into the state of affairs; his report was more satisfactory to the Liberals than to his employers, who, accordingly, withdrew him; but, at last, awakened to the fact that the people would no longer submit to an illegal usurpation of power, the Austrian ministers granted their demand of a Diet, although not till 1834, twenty-three years having intervened since the last.

According to Paget, who happened to be in Hungary during the session of the Hungarian Diet of 1832, the object of the reform party of that period was, "after strengthening the nationality of Hungary, freedom of commerce, and an improved commercial code, the navigation of the Danube, and the improvement of internal communication, increased freedom and education of the peasantry, the repeal of laws preventing the free purchase and sale of landed property, perfect equality of all religions, and the freedom of the press."

The amelioration of the condition of the peasantry was, however, the object of greatest importance to the Liberals, whose party Kossuth joined, though without binding himself

to all their opinions and views; as the constant endeavour of his subsequent career was to express the sentiments of the Hungarian people, to unite the interests of all classes into one, and to advocate the cause of justice without regard to religious or political creeds.

The Conservatives were chiefly composed of those attached to the Court, and formed a majority in the Chamber of Magnates, where the Catholic Prelates opposed the Reformers in every measure which was intended to advance the liberties or establish the rights of the country. The proposed reform of the unjust laws relating to the peasantry was peculiarly obnoxious to them, as the immense revenue derived from the Church lands, under the present system, would undergo a considerable diminution by an act which must entail a sacrifice of no small amount on the part of the "Nobles."

This question principally engaged the attention of the Diet of 1832. Hungary contained a population of thirteen millions, of which one-ninth only were inhabitants of towns, and five hundred and fifty thousand "Nobles" patricians; the remainder were included in the unprivileged order, who thus constituted the bulk of the people.* The members of this numerous class, employed chiefly in agriculture, were by law rendered incapable of possessing an acre of the soil they cultivated; they were under the obligation to pay certain dues in produce and labour to their landlord who exercised a right of seignorial jurisdiction over them; the church tithes were paid by them alone, and they had not only to defray the expenses of their separate villages or communities, but to bear the whole burden of taxation for the support of

* This statement is taken from the work of Fénjes Elek, edited in 1840. The census made by the Austrian government in 1850 states the population of Hungary to be at that period fifteen millions.

the public administration, and for the defences of the country. They suffered, besides, various restrictions in their personal rights, and though many of them were wealthy men, they were unrepresented in the Diet.

Those writers, however, who have described the Hungarian peasantry as serfs, are under an error which the able statement of Paget in his work on Hungary and Transylvania has not yet been able wholly to dispel. The peasantry of Hungary had from an early period been encouraged to settle in the towns,* and were not attached to the soil. "The *characteristic distinction of a villein*," according to Hallam, "was his obligation to remain upon his lord's estate. He was not only precluded from selling the lands upon which he dwelt, but his person was bound, and the lord might reclaim him at any time, by suit in a court of justice, if he ventured to stray. But, equally liable to this confinement, there were two classes of villeins, whose condition was exceedingly different. In England, at least from the reign of Henry II., one only, and that the inferior species existed, incapable of property, and destitute of redress, except against the most outrageous injuries. The lord could seize whatever they acquired or inherited, or convey them, apart from the land, to a stranger. Their tenure bound them to what were called villein services, ignoble in their nature, and indeterminate in their degree; the felling of timber, the carrying of manure, the repairing of roads for their lord, who seemed to have possessed an equally unbounded right over their labour and its fruits. But by the customs of France and Germany, persons in this abject state seem to have been called *serfs*, and distinguished from villeins, who were only bound to fixed payments and duties in respect of their lord, though, as it seems, without any legal redress, if injured by him. "The third state of

* In the reign of Sigismund, 1393—1437. See page 74.

men," says Beaumanoir, "is that of such as are not free; and these are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord, that he may take all they have, alive or dead, and imprison him whenever he pleases, being accountable to none but God; while others are treated more gently, from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him."*

With the introduction of Christianity, in the tenth century, slavery had ceased in Hungary; although it was not until the year 1405, the Hungarian statutes secured certain rights to the peasantry. These rights, however, had been practically conceded by the "Nobiles" at all times, and had acquired stability from tradition, and the habits of the people. The revolt of the peasantry, in the beginning of the sixteenth century,† served as a pretext to the "Nobiles" to enact a law, by which they were reduced to complete serfdom; this was not, however, long maintained; and history proves that the peasantry soon afterwards practically recovered all their rights, although, until the middle of the eighteenth century, no legal enactment secured them from oppression.

In the reign of Maria Theresa a decree was issued from the throne, in the form of a code of laws, stating and recognising the peculiar rights of the peasantry, and is commonly designated the Urbarium. Attention was first called to their grievances in the Diet, which commenced its sittings in 1764, the third and last held by Maria Theresa. The part taken by the crown was not wholly disinterested, for however benevolent may have been the feelings of the Empress Queen, the establishment of her own despotic power, and that of her successors on a firmer basis, was in this, as well as in her other schemes, the ultimate object.

* See Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. ii.

† See page 93.

she had in view. A true daughter of the House of Hapsburg, she desired to see the Austrian dominions united under one administration, as well as under one monarch; and the Constitutional Government of Hungary, the independence of her Diet, and the power and freedom of her "Nobles" were dangerous obstacles to such a union. Maria Theresa broke her faith to the Constitution by only summoning the Diet three times during her reign of forty years. She made various attempts to introduce the German language into Hungary; and she hoped, by advocating the cause of the peasantry, to weaken the strength of the privileged order. The proposition to ameliorate their condition was negatived by the Diet the first year; but roused so strong a feeling in those it was intended to benefit, that insurrections followed throughout the country. The Queen, seizing the advantage presented to her by the alarms these insurrections caused, issued a decree the following year, 1765, (by an act of arbitrary power, contrary to the spirit and letter of the Hungarian Constitution,) which defined, limited, and secured the rights of the peasantry. Hardly any opposition followed this illegal act, and the Urbarium of Maria Theresa, unsanctioned by the Diet, was adopted, *provisionally*, as the law of the land. Its easy reception may be accounted for by the fact, that it was little more than a confirmation of certain rights, which though not hitherto legally recognised, had been long established by usage. In Hungary, as well as in all Eastern nations, usage had almost the authority of law; and it was only in exceptional cases that the peasantry had suffered from the want of that protection now offered them in the Urbarium: but besides ascertaining what these rights were, it rendered them inalienable, and was at any rate a step made on the side of justice and humanity.

The chief benefits the peasant derived from the Urbarium

were, a legal acknowledgment of his right, at his pleasure, to quit his farm and his lord, after giving due notice to a magistrate, and paying his debts; of the lord only being empowered to dispossess him on the committal of a crime, or when he had absolute need of the land to build his own house, or in case of the peasant being incapable, or refusing, to fulfil the duties incumbent upon him; but even this, not without due process of law; at the same time, the lord could not exchange the peasant's fief without giving him another equally large and good. The peasant had also the privilege of retailing wines a certain number of months in the year, and of cutting wood for building and firing (without payment) on the property of his lord. He obtained these rights under certain conditions, the principal of which was the long established system of Robot, or a fixed term of labour for his lord, during a certain number of days in the year, which varied according to the number of acres cultivated by the peasant from a hundred and four to eighteen. He was, besides, obliged to pay two shillings house-tax to his lord, and the ninth of all the produce of the soil, to which some small contributions were added on a marriage and other family events. A legal tribunal, the *Sedes Dominales*, or Manor Court, in which the lord or his representatives appointed the judges, took cognizance of all cases in which the peasant was concerned, including those in which the dispute lay between him and his lord, who could lawfully, after condemnation, inflict twenty-five blows on the offender. The peasant was, however, allowed a right of appeal to the superior courts, but the blows might have been already inflicted before it could be made.

The interests of the peasant were only considered in the *Urbarium*, so far as they did not interfere with the interests of the sovereign. The heavy taxation which had fallen upon the Hungarian peasant, in consequence of the wars carried

on by Austria during the reign of Maria Theresa, was not diminished, though to render it less oppressive, and to protect him from the possibility of being deprived of his fief by his lord, he was given a right to retain the land he cultivated, and even to bequeath it to his children, so long as he was faithful to the conditions by which it was held. The recognition of certain lands as permanent fiefs, subject to taxation, had the effect of depriving the "Nobiles" of the power of resuming them into their own occupation, and thus secured to Government the taxation of at least one half of Hungary. The Urbarium did not relieve the peasant from various other grievances under which he laboured, such as the obligation to furnish horses at stated times to his lord, and to Government officials, &c., to which in later times was added, the imposition of soldiers quartered upon him, and the conscription to supply the Austrian army. He had, under his native kings, been ever exempted from the duty of war, even in the defence of his country. In the middle of the 18th century, during the reign of the Emperor, King Charles III., a standing army was introduced into Hungary. Before that period, the Magnates (*Seniores Domini*), and the Counts (*Comites Castri*), (the officers whom Arpad had appointed to the castles and military settlements) with their followers, formed the King's army, for the internal protection of the country, and the "Nobiles," or freemen, in return for their privileges and immunities, constituted the national army, and rendered personal service to defend the kingdom from foreign invaders; the cultivators of the soil meantime (with the exception of those upon the lands round the fortresses), were never required to bear arms on any occasion whatsoever. The new law of conscription by which they were forced into a foreign service, weighed the more heavily upon them by the harsh manner in which the levies were made.*

* See Paget's Hungary and Transylvania, vol. ii. p. 575.*

The committee of inquiry proceeded to lay before the present Diet several large folios containing their projects of Reform, and recommended that the attention of the House should in the first place be directed towards the question of the Urbarium. But the Deputies, though convinced of its superior importance, were not the less aware of the opposition they had to expect from the Austrian government, in all their schemes, and believing that the Reform of the Urbarium, which concerned themselves alone, would for that reason, be more easily carried, than one which also comprehended the interests of the Austro-Germanic Provinces, they determined to commence with the most difficult, the Reform of the Commercial Code. They considered that this would have as beneficial an effect on the community at large as the Reform of the Urbarium, and that it might dispose those "Nobiles" who were less liberal in their views, or more selfish than the Reformers, to a cession of their peculiar rights in favour of the peasantry.

After the Urbarium there was no question which so deeply affected the interests of Hungary as that of the Commercial Code: Though from the fertility of the soil, and the impediments offered by Government to all commercial enterprize, Hungary has hitherto been almost entirely an agricultural and pastoral country, she possesses every facility which natural position and internal riches can afford for manufactures and commerce. Her great mineral wealth, her coal, wood, and iron supply the material and the means: On the shores of the Adriatic are harbours for her ships; and the Danube traversing the whole country from west to east, and fed by streams of no small magnitude and importance from the north, offers an easy mode of transit by which to convey her produce to the Black Sea, and from thence to all the ports of the world; but it has always been the policy of Austria to render Hungarian commerce subservient to the supposed

interests of the Austro-Germanic Provinces. Hungarian articles of manufacture were burdened with heavy duties, so as to make them hardly available even for the Austrian market, and still less for the markets of other foreign countries.* It was thus with some of the most important among the raw products; tobacco, wine, iron, &c. &c. The endeavour to remedy these evils, however, proved fruitless; the Viennese government evaded the proposition of the Diet, or refused to give them an answer, and the Deputies soon perceived that the Austrian ministers were resolved to support the monopolies of the Germanic portion of the empire.† In the course of the debate the Government party insinuated that the advocates of the Reform of the Commercial Code were actuated by self-interested motives, and the desire to postpone or throw into shade the just claims of the injured peasant; this, with other obstacles, finally led them to determine to leave the discussion to a more favourable juncture; and, after laying before the King a remonstrance respecting the oppression of the Protestant

* By the ancient laws, only an import and export duty of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. *ad valorem* could be imposed, and that for the sake of revenue.

† The Austrian Exchequer, it is well known, is, and has been for centuries in a miserably low state, and there are no arts, except those of enlightened policy and honest administration, which have not been put in practice to improve it. The Hungarians claim the right of free import and export on the payment of a five per cent duty, and the right has been as solemnly acknowledged as it was possible to have been by royal oaths; yet, in spite of this, no sooner did the Austrian dynasty ascend the throne of Hungary, than a system of indirect taxation was begun, which has gone on increasing to the present moment, when almost every article imported from any other country than Austria pays a duty of sixty per cent. The Hungarian Nobles are taxed most heavily, and in a manner which leaves them no control over either taxation or expenditure.—*Page's Hungary*, Vol. i. p. 408.

and Greek churches, and the unjust favour bestowed on the Roman Catholic, to proceed to the consideration of the Urbarium.

A distinguished Hungarian statesman, now in exile, writes thus on the question at issue, in a work destined for publication at some future time. "When, in the eighteenth century, the peasant claimed possession of the soil, and, goaded on by injustice and hardships, sought the means of improving his condition, the first and natural consequence was a feeling of ill-will towards his superiors. This was by no means displeasing to the Austrian government; the nobles retained the seigniorial jurisdiction; the officers of the central government saw a fiscal question in every case brought to trial between a taxed peasant and an untaxed noble, and every appeal was decided against the latter; the artificial means to foment ill-will between the peasant and the landlord opened the eyes of the greater number of the "nobiles" to the danger of their position, and they tried to escape from it by concession and adjustment, but the government opposed every such attempt, with what view the subsequent events in Galicia have clearly shown."*

The conditions by which the land was held, and the dependence of the peasants upon the "Nobles," presented a serious impediment to all progress; the Liberal party, therefore, aimed at replacing this antiquated system by one which should gradually lead to the conversion of the peasant's *fief* into freehold property and make him dependant on the regular tribunals of the country, instead of the seigniorial jurisdiction

*The revolt of the peasantry in Galicia in 1846 was openly incited and protected by the officials of the Austrian government, and after many cruelties had been perpetrated, they proclaimed that five florins (ten shillings English) should be awarded for the head of a noble cut off by a peasant. For an account of these proceedings, see "The Crimes of the House of Hapsburg," by F. W. Newman, p. 35.

of his landlord. It was for this end that they chiefly insisted on that clause in the new Urbarium by *which the peasant was to be enabled to redeem his dues towards the lord of the manor*; since by that alone he could hold his true position as a free and independent citizen; the clause passed the House of Deputies by an overwhelming majority: the redemption of the peasant was still only to be permissive, not compulsory on his lord; it was to depend on an agreement between them respecting the terms, and a landlord could only be obliged to accede to the compact, when two-thirds of a community of peasants offered to redeem themselves; though if they and he could not come to an agreement he would then be forced to accept those terms prescribed by law: even with these reservations the clause met with the most determined hostility from the Conservative party in the House of Magnates as well as from Vienna, though the rest of the Act was agreed to and passed into a law, viz., that, in future, a "Nobilis" holding a peasant's fief should pay the taxes for such land as if it were possessed by a peasant; that the landlord should no longer be permitted to inflict corporal punishment, and that the jurisdiction of the Manor Courts (Sedes Dominales) should be restricted to cases between peasant and peasant, while those between a peasant and his lord should be decided by a new court, composed of five disinterested persons, the right of appeal remaining as before.*

If the sovereigns of the Hapsburg dynasty had formerly advocated the cause of the peasantry so far as that cause was subservient to the increase of the wealth and influence of the monarchy, the Imperial family was now equally opposed to their claims, when the "Nobles," desirous of fulfilling an act of justice, were willing to make a sacrifice of their own

* See Paget's Hungary and Transylvania, 1 vol., p. 302—305.

advantages, and extend rights and privileges to all classes. Metternich, and other advisers of the crown, knew well such a measure would eventually tend to strengthen the power of Hungary, and enable her to resist the aggressive rule of Vienna. While the Hungarian Conservatives rejected the obnoxious clause on the ground of the preservation of class interests, the pretext used by the Viennese ministers was their duty to preserve the fund of taxation unimpaired. This fund consisted in the peasant's fiefs, which they pretended, if once converted into freeholds, would be no more liable to taxation than the land of the "Nobles."

The clause was thirteen times negatived by the Magnates : after it had been finally vetoed by the sovereign, Paul Nagy, one of the principal members of the Diet, rose, and amidst loud applause, poured forth a speech replete with sarcasm and bitter invective against those who selfishly and perversely refused to sanction an act of justice towards their fellow countrymen. The poet Kölcsey succeeded Paul Nagy, and gradually warming with his subject, drew so touching a picture of the fate of the oppressed peasant, that after a silence, which was only interrupted by the sound of weeping in the ladies' gallery, and in which even some of the male auditors joined, deafening cheers followed, evincing how deeply their sympathies accorded with the words of the orator.

Paul Nagy (Nagy Pál) had been the leader of the Reformers in the Diet of 1825, and his eloquence had first roused the enthusiasm of Hungary in the cause of liberty and justice ; since that period however, he had accepted a trust under Government, which had produced a change in his political conduct, though he still stood firm on the question of the claims of the peasantry ; but the oratory which now most stirred the spirits of men to a sense of the wrongs of the people was that of Kölcsey Ferencz

(Francis Kölcsey) the poet, scholar, and philosopher. His views were those of the most decided of the liberal party, while his pure and elevated character seemed rather to belong to the romance of a chivalrous age, than to real life. He had been early distinguished in literature, and was the friend and companion of Kasinczy, the Lessing of Hungary. Like the poets of Italy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, those of Hungary in the eighteenth and nineteenth, were the revivers and purifiers of the national language, drawing forth its capabilities and power, and while their sentiments roused the feelings of the people, the words in which they were expressed touched a chord in every true Hungarian heart. The eloquence of Kölcsey as an orator was such, that his audience, unprepared for its effect by the unpretending appearance of the man, were carried whithersoever he led them.

The actual leader of the Reform party in the Diet of 1832—36 was Francis Deak of Kehida, chosen as such by the Liberals, for the acuteness of his understanding and the soundness and solidity of his judgment. He had long prepared himself for his present position by an assiduous study of law, and at the age of thirty-two he took his place among the Deputies in the Diet. The government is said to have offered him place and power, but he refused to renounce his principles. He possessed the stoical virtue of an ancient Roman, and his eloquence was clear, logical, and full of deep meaning and truth, as well as of poetic beauty. He not only convinced the understanding, but moved the feelings of his audience. He was supported by his intimate friend Klauzal Gábor (Gabriel Klauzal) Deputy for the Comitât of Csongrâd, and destined like Deak to play a prominent part in the events which rapidly followed, heralding the Revolution of 1848. Though only thirty years of age, Klauzal had already acquired considerable

popularity in his native Country, and his genial disposition and kindly nature secured the friendship of all with whom he associated. In spite of the lavish sums expended in bribery during the elections by the opposite party, headed by the Counts of Karolyi* (who, from their vast estates, possessed immense influence in the County), Klauzal was returned for every Diet from 1832 to 1847.

Beöthy Oden (Eugene Beöthy) and Balógh Janös (John Balógh) were among the most popular members of the Diet, and were especially favourites of the young men. The former, though a Roman Catholic, was distinguished as the boldest asserter of the rights of the Protestants, and as such was so hated and feared by the priesthood that his admirers honoured him with the name of "The Priest's Hammer;" he was also called familiarly "The little Corporal," because he had formerly served in a regiment of Hussars. His voice was clear, sonorous, and strong, and his diction attractive and captivating. Balógh, though remarkable for his attention to dress, which seemed to fit him rather for a leader of the fashion than for the champion of his country's rights, was one of the boldest leaders of the opposition.

While the Act concerning the Urbarium was still pending, a powerful ally was added to the party of the Reformers in the person of Wesselenyi, who had hitherto been engaged with the affairs of his own province. The Transylvanian Diet had met in 1834, but under auspices which were not calculated to render the Austrian Government more popular than before. The stormy debates which followed were forbidden to be published; Wesselenyi, in spite of illegal confiscations on the part of the Government, contrived to spread a knowledge of them by means of lithography, and finally

* The Counts Karolyi were allied by marriage to the family of the Batthányas.

presented his lithographic press to the chamber; a few hours later, a proclamation was issued in the name of the Emperor, by which the Diet was dissolved, and the Arch-Duke Ferdinand d'Este, who had been sent down as the Royal Commissioner for the opening, and who had already rendered himself obnoxious by the introduction of additional troops, and by his well-known despotic sentiments, was nominated absolute Governor of the Province. The Austrian rule had by this time so completely alienated all feelings of respect in the minds of the people, and Wesselenyi had so won upon their affections by acting as the champion of their ancient and constitutional rights, that though the weak, the cautious, and the timid, began to draw back, fearing he might have carried matters too far, a word from him would have called forty or fifty thousand men into the field: he loved his country however too well to commence an insurrection, where he might still hope to obtain his end by lawful and pacific means. He quitted Transylvania at the dissolution of the Diet, and repaired to the Hungarian Diet at Presburg, there to join the ranks of the Reformers. An action was immediately commenced against him for the publication of his Journal, but he was prevented from attending the summons of the Court by severe illness. He was therefore condemned for contumacy, and threatened with arrest should he return to Transylvania. He had further incensed the government by his conduct when on his way to the Hungarian Diet. Arrived at Szatmar, he found the Comitât engaged in discussing what instructions they should send their deputy in the Hungarian Diet respecting the Reform of the Urbarium. Wesselenyi succeeded in convincing them, that to act justly towards that class of their countrymen who wanted their protection, would in the end, conduce to the welfare of every order in the state, and when speaking of the manner in which the privileged classes (even those

whom he was at that moment addressing), appropriated everything to themselves, he compared them "to vampires nourished by the life-blood of the people." No sooner had he taken his seat as a Magnate in the Hungarian Diet, than he was indicted for high treason: Balógh rose in the House and declared "he should not consider himself guilty of any great crime if he adopted the very words of Wesselenyi." For this, he was rewarded by being included in the prosecution. The Diet protested against the infringement of the liberty of speech of one of its members, and the Government, now aware it had made a false move, secretly offered Wesselenyi immediate pardon if he would demand it; the offer was indignantly rejected. Deák rose in the House to propose a remonstrance being laid before the King against the illegal measures of his Ministers. He was followed by a few words from Kossuth, of whom Paget, who happened to be present at the debate, thus speaks; "Kossuth, a young man of considerable promise, spoke next; he was content with two or three sentences, declaring strongly his opinion, and the side on which he should vote.* . . . Kossuth has been most usefully employed during the Diet. Government, in spite of the laws of Hungary, in spite of the protests of the Diet, forbids the publication of the debates, and maintains here, as elsewhere in the Austrian dominions, a strict censorship."

Though unable from his position to take any active part in the Diet, Kossuth had been employed in labours of the utmost importance for the country. The absence of a free press was at this moment a real misfortune to Hungary, Questions were at stake on whose issue the future welfare

* In this Mr. Paget must have been mistaken, as though Kossuth could speak, he could not vote as an "*ablegatus absentium*." His words were few, as young men in that capacity, and without a vote, were not much listened to in the Diet.

of the nation greatly depended. The middle class among the "Nobiles" were duly impressed with their urgency. In the highest and lowest, belonging to the patrician order, there were prejudices to be overcome as well as an aversion to any radical change. The large landed proprietors feared the losses they might incur by the proposed Reform of the *Urbarium*, while the lesser "Nobiles"* were jealous of those privileges which alone separated them from men who were in every other respect their equals. According to the Hungarian statesman whose work has been referred to already; "the condition of the peasantry was not only the most important question at issue, but the only internal question affecting the principles of government or political rights. The condition of the peasantry was the only inherent and organic evil; other evils arose from the interference of Austria; this continued to exist supported by her power. To solve the difficulty, and emancipate *the land and the men*,† it was necessary to beat Austria back. It was not so much a question of convincing the country, as of combining its action. This was what Kossuth accomplished." By Austria was not meant the sovereign in the exercise of his legitimate authority, but the interference and intrigues of his advisers the Austrian Ministers, who had no more right to dictate in the affairs of Hungary than the English Ministers had in those of Holland, when William III. was King of England.

The main source by which public opinion is formed in other countries, a free press, had been wrested from the

* The lesser "Nobiles" were called in derision the *Bocakoros Nemes*, or *Sandal Nobles*, from the sort of shoes they wear in some parts of Hungary.

† *The land and the men*. This expression was used in Hungary at that time to express the rights of property and the personal rights of the peasantry.

nation by the usurpation of the Austrian Ministers. To supply this defect, and to make the people at large acquainted with the transactions of the Diet, Kossuth applied himself to the editorship of a journal, which he entitled, "The Országgyölesí Tudósítások," or, Parliamentary Messenger. His object principally was to produce concert in the deliberations and resolutions of the Comitáts. The Members of the Diet were not only representatives, but delegates from the separate Counties, whose assembled "Nobles" gave them instructions how to speak or vote;* it was therefore the more necessary, in order to carry any question of importance, that every Comitát should be informed of the opinions of *all* the Representatives in the Diet, as without such knowledge there could be no combined constitutional action. The diary, or daily record of the proceedings of the Diet was too dry in its details, and contained too voluminous a report of all the speeches, to be read except by the few, whose sole occupation was politics. Kossuth's journal was the first publication in the form of a newspaper which had dared to comment on the acts of the Diet and of the Government; praise and blame were administered in a fair spirit and able manner, and while it served

* Once in every three years the "Nobles" of every county were accustomed to assemble under the presidency of their lord-lieutenant (Fő Ispány). At the same time, the civil corporations of each town met under the presidency of a Commissioner, especially appointed for the purpose by the Government. In these assemblies were elected by acclamation or ballot the magistrates and municipal functionaries for the three years next ensuing, who were obliged to give their constituents an account of their stewardship at quarterly meetings called congregations. At these congregations all the acts of the government were submitted to the assembled body, in order in case of any illegality they might be forwarded, as *gravamina* or grievances, to the Diet. In these congregations too, the instructions for the Deputies to the Diet were prepared.—From the *Observer*, July, 1842.

to encourage the patriots, it helped to discountenance the spirit of reaction. To evade the letter of the decree which forbade the debates being printed, he, like Wesselenyi, made use of a lithographic press. The Palatine intimated a desire on the part of the Government to purchase it from him, thereby acquainting him with the disapprobation his proceedings had incurred; he therefore resorted to a written correspondence, which he carried on by means of hired secretaries. His papers were next intercepted at the Post Office, and he was compelled to transmit them to their destination by carriers hired for the purpose, but the demand for the journal increased so rapidly, that at one time an edition of some thousand copies was circulated. His success exceeded the expectations of his friends, and while opening the eyes of men to the real state of the country, he roused them to demand a redress of grievances whose existence Austria would willingly have made them believe it was their interest to maintain.

This memorable Diet closed its sittings in the spring of 1836. Apparently it had effected little; each project of reform which had been taken into consideration by the House of Deputies, had been dropped one by one, as they were successively postponed, or negatived, in the House of Magnates. The former had alone maintained their ground on the subject of the Urbarium, but even in this they had finally been forced to succumb to the intrigues of the Government, and the violent opposition of the Magnates. The fundamental principle of the act remained the same, and it was only improved by some further regulations of the duties belonging to the peasant and to the landlord. The high expectations which had been raised of this Diet, were doomed to disappointment. But if it had failed in carrying the measures for which it had striven so manfully, it had bequeathed a greater good to the country by the

moral influence exerted, and had led the way to future victory. Not only did the peasantry themselves (forming five-sixths of the Hungarian people) aspire to possess those rights which are the natural inheritance of every man in a free commonwealth, but a large majority of their privileged fellow citizens had acknowledged the justice of their claims, and the duty they themselves owed to them as well as to humanity in their maintenance. The peasant was astonished to find his defender and champion arise from the ranks of those who had hitherto been his oppressors, and to behold his claims rejected by the King, whom he was taught in church and in school to consider his protector. The leaders of the Liberal party were revered and looked upon as the true representatives of the people, and the persecutions they had to endure from a foreign Government only caused them to be regarded with the greater affection by their countrymen. Even some of the staunchest opponents of reform now admitted, that the change which had taken place in public opinion throughout the country was so overpowering, that the Conservatives could not prevent the measure for the emancipation of the peasant being carried in the next Diet. The eyes of the millions were opened; the desire for justice which animated the rustic population had reached the industrial and mercantile inhabitants of the towns; even they called loudly for a fairer representation, and for a re-organization of their municipalities.

The journal of Kossuth, like the wand of a magician, had raised a spirit in the land. It had united hearts and hands in the cause of justice and patriotism, and stimulated men to sink selfish interests in a generous desire for the good of their countrymen. The truths revealed in the speeches of Deak, Klausz, Beöthy, Balogh, Kölcsey, and Wesselenyi, had re-echoed throughout Hungary, and become household words by the pen of Louis Kossuth.

CHAPTER IV.

ET. 34—39.

A.D. 1836 — 1841.

Austrian policy hostile to the constitutional liberty of Hungary
 — *Form of Hungarian Government—Viceregal Council—*
Hungarian State Chancery—Deposition of the Chancellor,
Count Adam Revičzky; replaced by Count Fidelis
Pálffy—The Presburg Casino—Arrest of several of the
Members by order of the Austrian Government—The
Comitâts of Hungary protest against this illegal act—
Want of combined action in the Comitâts—Kossuth com-
mences another written newspaper; its reception through-
out the country—Treats of the Impeachment of Wesse-
lenyi, &c.—Embarrassment of the Austrian Govern-
ment—Kossuth ordered to stop his work—He defends
his right as a Hungarian “Nobilis”—The Vice Ispány
and the Comitât support him—Is arrested by order of the
Austrian Government—His Imprisonment for two years
—Is brought to trial in 1839—Conduct of the Judges—
Youths of the Presburg Casino—Kossuth condemned with
Wesselenyi and others to further imprisonment—The Diet
of 1839 refuses to comply with the wishes of the Austrian
Government—The Chancellor Pálffy recalled—Count
Anthony Mailáth appointed to his place—The Govern-
ment demands large supplies of men and money—Deter-
mination of the Diet—The Government yields—State of
the Prisoners on their release—Kossuth, broken in health,
retires to Parád—Changes which had taken place during

his confinement—Death of his Father—Effect of his imprisonment upon his character—Becomes the editor of the Pesti Hírlap (Pesth Journal.)

ALTHOUGH there was no further occasion for the work in which Kossuth had been hitherto engaged, he was not long suffered to remain idle. The terror with which the revolutionary spirit of 1830 had inspired the Courts of Europe, had begun to subside; Germany and Italy were silenced, and Poland had been crushed by the iron arm of despotism; but in the kingdom of Hungary liberty still breathed, and Metternich and his satellites could not rest, till her last spark of life was extinguished. They had been victorious over almost every project of reform in the late Diet, but it was impossible to be ignorant of the fact, that their victories had only added strength to their opponents, that the spirit of disaffection had spread widely, and that the people of Hungary were more determined than ever to assert their ancient rights and liberties, and to extend them to those who had hitherto been excluded from a just participation.

The Government of Hungary was conducted by the Vice-regal Council (*Concilium regium locumtenentiale*) over which the Palatine presided. It consisted of what were called the five and twenty *intimates*, appointed by the King from the Catholic Prelates, Magnates, and "Nobles" of Hungary. The King was supposed to be advised by them on questions which he laid before them, and they were bound to see the acts of the Diet duly executed. But though they corresponded immediately with the King, all their communications were obliged to pass through the Hungarian State Chancery in Vienna, the mere tool of the Austrian Ministers, who, instead of trying the effect of conciliatory measures with Hungary, adhered more obstinately than ever to the principle of intimidation. The Diet had no

sooner been dissolved, than the Chancellor, Count Adam Reviczky (who had liberal tendencies) was deposed, and Count Fidelis Palfy, a creature of the Court, servile, ignorant, and stubborn, took his place. Liberty of speech had already been attacked in the persons of Wesselenyi and Balogh, and the next step was to attempt to put a stop to the liberty of association.

There were a number of young men in Presburg belonging to the best families of Hungary, who were employed during the sitting of the Diet, as secretaries or clerks to the Deputies, which served to initiate them into the duties of public life. Some of them had formed themselves into a club or debating society, called the "Presburg Casino," where the great questions of the day, or any subject of political interest, were discussed. Papers written by themselves were read aloud, and books and newspapers provided for the use of the members. The manner in which the leisure hours of these young men was thus spent, far from incurring censure, met with general approbation. During the sitting of the Diet they were allowed to continue their meetings without interruption, but no sooner had it been dissolved, and the youths belonging to the Casino had returned to their respective homes in the country, than four of them were arrested in the same night, by an order of the Austrian Government. Torn by soldiers from the midst of their families, they were conveyed to the fortress of Buda, there to await their trial, on a charge of high treason, preferred against them by the Attorney for the Crown.

The event caused a sensation throughout the whole country. While the larger number of persons joined in an indignant outcry against the authors of the arrest, some, less interested in political matters, were too ready to believe the false reports circulated against these young men, and attribute to them words which they had never uttered. The

publicity of the meetings, however, was of itself sufficient to prove the absurdity of the charges made, and it was evident to the thinking and educated part of the community, as well as to the mass of the people, that the case was improvised to serve the purpose of the Austrian Ministry, who hoped to undermine another of the Hungarian liberties.

The Comitâts, or County Meetings, as if by one impulse, made an energetic protest to the King against the proceedings of his Ministers, but a deaf ear was turned to their appeal. Perhaps so daring a measure as the arrest of these four young men would scarcely have been ventured upon, had not the laws concerning high treason been couched in so ambiguous a form, as to give the act some appearance of legality. In this case, however, the dullest intellect could perceive, that the application was false, and an abuse of the spirit of the laws, such as could only have been attempted with the most sinister intentions. There remained but one course for Hungary to pursue, which was, by the opportunities afforded through the political institutions of the country, to oppose a steady and constitutional, though passive, resistance to Austrian encroachments. The "Comitâts" were indeed unanimous in their views respecting the conduct of the Government during the late Diet, but to produce any practical result from this unanimity, and to present a barrier to the illegal measures forced upon the nation, it was imperative that the same harmony in opinion, and combination in action and expression, should be continued in the intervals when the Diet was not sitting.

Again Kossuth was called upon to exert his talents for the service of his country; a centre, or focus was wanting, and he undertook to supply the deficiency by a regular communication in the form of letters which he addressed to the several Comitâts. These letters, or written newspapers, he entitled the "Torvenyhatosagi Tudositások," Messenger

of the Municipal Bodies; the work was one of herculean labour, as instead of only reporting the acts of a single Diet, he proposed to give an abstract of those of fifty-two local Parliaments; he met with ready co-operation in the various Counties, in each of which, as well as in several of Transylvania, he established correspondents. Out of the heterogeneous mass of facts and opinions thus laid before him he constructed a harmonious, well-arranged whole, moulded it into shape, and clothed it with a language adapted to the comprehension and taste of those for whom it was intended. His sound logic and vigorous style was not destitute of that ornament which was required to render it attractive to the Hungarian people; their imagination was fascinated while their reason was convinced; the profound politician and the man of the people alike approved of the work, and men of opposite views hailed the arrival of the "Torvenyhatosagi Tudositások" * (Messenger of the Municipal Bodies). Its reception was as great in Pesth as in the provinces, and the very peasantry in the villages bespoke the written newspaper of Kossuth, which was read aloud every Sunday by the notary to hundreds of attentive listeners; nearly every Comitát ordered copies to be retained in the archives, as besides furnishing them with information on the opinions and actions of all the Parliaments of the kingdom, it was the principal source through which they became acquainted with the leading topics of the day.

The first subjects which occupied its pages were the late impeachment of Wesselenyi and Balogh, and the arrests of the youths of the Presburg Casino. The Viennese Government, though much embarrassed by the sensation these events had occasioned, and by the still farther publicity given to them by means of Kossuth's newspaper, could not find a shadow of legal pretext for interference with him; they could not even hope to weaken its effect on the people

by a rival paper. They had no resource left but force, by which to destroy so dangerous an antagonist. A message was in the first place sent to Kossuth, with an order to desist in his work, and when he pleaded his right as an Hungarian "Nobilis" to write and despatch what letters he pleased, the Palatine, as Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom, sent an order to the Vice Ispány, or principal officer of the County of Pesth, to prohibit the publication, and the letters already in the Post Office were condemned to destruction. The Vice Ispány, before executing this command, referred the matter to the Comitát, without whose sanction it would have been illegal for him to act. The sanction was refused, and this attempt at an arbitrary invasion of their liberties was communicated by the Comitát of Pesth to every other Comitát in Hungary. The consequence of their refusal was, that in the month of May, 1837, the Attorney for the Crown filed an *ex officio* indictment of "*nota infidelitatio*," or lower treason, against Kossuth. He was at this time residing in the neighbourhood of Buda, when, in violation even of the law which in similar charges admitted to bail, he was arrested by a company of Grenadiers, under the command of Count Thurn, and conveyed to the fortress of Buda.

His trial was suspended for two years, in which time he was kept in solitary confinement, denied the use of books, pen and ink, and prohibited from holding any communication with his parents or friends. To a man of his active habits, it was a period of severe trial; but, far from sinking beneath it, the long hours of quiet thought and contemplation only served to give fresh vigour to his intellect, and renewed energy to the inexhaustible powers of his mind. He himself, when speaking of this period, said: "It was two years of life lost, but it was all my after life gained." In 1839, sentence was passed on Kossuth, Wesselenyi, and

the four youths of the Presburg Casino. Two of these last were released, while the remaining two were condemned severally to an imprisonment of four and of ten years' duration in a fortress; though it was expressly declared in their sentence, that the charge of high treason, for which they were indicted, could not be proved against them. Intimidation and bribery were alike used by the Austrian Court to bias the judges against the prisoners. Two of them were found honest enough to resist both; one resigned his office, while the other absented himself for a time.*

The prisoner Ladislaus Lovassy, one of the most distinguished youths of the Casino, was only twenty-two years of age, of a warm and impassioned temper, endowed with uncommon abilities, and a fervid eloquence. All the ardour of his enthusiastic nature was enlisted in the cause of his country, and when, during his trial, his persecutors frequently suggested to him that signs of penitence might obtain a more lenient sentence, if not his release, he firmly maintained the righteousness of his cause, and boldly charged his judges with their iniquity. His companion in misfortune, Lapsanzky, a dull youth, who had always borne a dubious character, was more than suspected of having secretly denounced his comrades to the Austrian Government. His harder sentence, of ten years' imprisonment, was supposed to be only a subterfuge to impose on the public, an idea to which the mystery which hung over his subsequent fate, gave a colour of probability.

Kossuth and Wesselenyi were each condemned to four more years' imprisonment in the fortress of Buda, where,

* The Judges in the higher Courts of Hungary were nominees of the King, and the case of these young men is only an additional proof of the superiority of the Institution of the Jury over a tribunal composed of men appointed by any political power in the State.

under the depressing influence of solitary confinement, the bodily strength of the Transylvanian patriot, which was already failing, was doomed to exhaustion. The younger age of Kossuth was in his favour, and as he was now permitted to read, provided the books he selected had no political tendency, he determined to take advantage of the leisure afforded him, to prepare his mind for future and greater exertions. The book he selected was Shakespeare, and for the first time he applied himself diligently to the study of the English language; the wisdom of Metternich could not divine that the prisoner in the fortress of Buda, was, through his means, acquiring the mastery of a weapon by which, only a few years later, he would rouse the sympathies of a Continent for the trampled down people of Europe, and make Austria tremble for her own safety. In the profound knowledge of the human heart taught by our great poet, Kossuth imbibed a deeper philosophy, and perhaps learned more political wisdom, than he might have found in all the avowedly political works which he was prohibited to read by the fears of Austrian tyrants. Much of his time was also devoted to the study of mathematics, and, as he was now permitted to hold intercourse with his friends, he expressed, in a letter written to his mother from his prison, the delight this science afforded him, by completely abstracting his mind from the painful position in which he was placed.

The Diet met again the year Kossuth was condemned, and the feelings of the Hungarian people had been wrought to such a degree of exasperation, that every one was prepared to expect a stormy session. The Members of each Comitât sent instructions to their delegates, not to listen to any proposal on the part of Government, until Kossuth, Wesselenyi, and the youths of the Casino had been liberated, the proceedings against them declared illegal, and the law on treason revised

and more exactly defined, in order to provide against the possibility of a recurrence of similar abuses on the part of those in authority.*

The King and his Ministers, who could not blind themselves to the unanimous feeling which prompted these demonstrations, would probably have tried to avoid summoning the Diet, had it not been forced upon them by the apprehension of war, caused by the accession of Thiers to the ministry of France, and the dubious aspect of affairs in the East. Austria again required a grant of money and soldiers from Hungary, and anxious now to conciliate the representatives, recalled the Chancellor Palfy; the two Presidents of the High Courts of Pesth (the agents of Government in the late trials) were also removed, and placed in offices of trust in Vienna. In their stead, Count Antony Mailáth was appointed Chancellor, and his cousin, Count John Mailáth, Chief Justice of the Realm. Both were reputed honest, and attached to their country, although they were devoted adherents to the Imperial House. Metternich and his colleagues thought these concessions sufficient to satisfy the Hungarian people, and at the opening of the Diet in the autumn of 1839, demanded four millions of florins and 38,000 recruits. They found themselves, however, mistaken; the majority of the Deputies refused to comply, unless the above-mentioned grievances were first redressed, and the clause in the Urbarium which had been so long disputed in the preceding Diet were also conceded. The contest lasted six months, during which time, the supporters of Government hinted to the leaders of the opposition, that an amnesty might be granted to Kossuth and his companions, if the Diet would withdraw their other claims, and send up a humble petition to the King for their

* See p. 207.

release. The proposal was indignantly spurned by the patriots; but the Conservatives at last succeeded in carrying an amendment by a majority of one; in consequence of which it was agreed that the Royal propositions should be taken into consideration. The following day (the 29th April, 1840), a resolution from the throne was read before both Houses, proclaiming a general amnesty to all political offenders (as the King was pleased to denominate those who had acted in accordance with the laws of their country), and granting the redemption of the peasants' duties.* The Diet, in return, voted the four millions of florins and the recruits, and was immediately dissolved.

The prisoners were once more restored to liberty, and, with the exception of Lapsanzky, returned to their families. He has never since been heard of, though some assert that he has been seen in Austria, bearing a feigned name, and in the employment of Government. The ardent spirit of Lovassy had sunk under his calamities, and he left the fortress of Buda, a maniac. Wesselenyi, broken and infirm in health before entering his prison, had become totally blind; Kossuth, however, though suffering from illness occasioned by long and close confinement, revived in the free air of the mountains of Paráđ, where he retired on his release, and where the extraordinary vigour and elasticity of his spirit seemed to exercise a beneficial influence on his bodily health. He had come out an altered man, but altered only by a further growth and development of his intellectual and mental powers. In seclusion, as in the world, he had never rested; the stream which had entered

* The celebrated clause now became a law, though by no means with all the force of its original conception. Conditions and restrictions had been inserted, as concessions to the Magnates and the Crown, which had weakened its efficacy, and consequently rendered it far less advantageous to the peasantry than had been expected.

the cavern with the force of a mountain torrent, rolled forth from its darkness a mighty river.

Changes had also taken place in the circle of his own family. His mother was now a widow; her husband having died while Kossuth was in prison. He had left her in very narrow circumstances, and, deprived of her son to whom she would have looked for support, her position awakened the sympathy of those in whose cause he was a sufferer. A sum of money was therefore subscribed, and the interest presented to her; but no sooner had Kossuth left his prison than he refused to accept the principal which was offered him, and by his desire it was devoted to the foundation of a school for the encouragement of national industry. He remained a short time in retirement at Paráds for the recovery of his health, and soon after his return to Pesth, on the 9th of September, 1841, he married Theresa Mezlényi, the daughter of an Hungarian "Nobilis" of good family. Her affection for him had first been awakened by the patriotic virtues and sufferings which had excited the enthusiasm of her country. Their marriage was followed by the union of her brother with Kossuth's youngest sister.

Rich in experience, his plans matured, and appearing before the public now in the light of a political martyr, Kossuth found himself at once in the position of a leader in the meetings of the Comitát of Pesth. Ludwig Landener, a publisher in that city, had obtained a license for the publication of a political paper; at his desire Kossuth accepted the editorship, and Government permitted the transaction to pass unnoticed, as they believed no danger could ensue from a work which must be submitted to their censorship.

The "Pesti Hírlap," or Pesth Journal, therefore appeared in 1841, and with it commenced the most important period in the life of Kossuth, prior to the revolution of 1848.

CHAPTER V.

ÆT. 39—42.

1841 — 1844.

Reasons of the Austrian Government for granting Kossuth permission to edit the "Pesti Hirláp"—Its popularity—Writers in the "Pesti Hirláp"—Count Stephen Széchenyi—The Kelet Nepe (People of the East)—Early Life of Széchenyi—His schemes for the material improvement of Hungary—An Aristocratic Reformer Kossuth contrasted with Széchenyi—Kossuth's views more Conservative and practical—He desires the "Nobles" shall reform themselves—Admonishes the Ultra-Radicals and the Aristocracy respectively—Széchenyi's enmity against Kossuth—Kossuth publishes his vindication—The Government starts an opposition paper, the "Világ" (Light)—Success of the "Pesti Hirláp."

THE Viennese Cabinet had granted permission to Kossuth to edit the Pesti Hirláp, in the hope that so unusual a concession on their part would either conciliate a dangerous opponent, or at any rate weaken his influence with the people, by depriving him of two attractions in their eyes; viz., being looked upon as a political martyr, and the necessity of acting in defiance of their authority; they also believed that the censorship to which this paper would be subjected would throw unceasing difficulties in his way. Contrary to their expectations, the "Pesti Hirláp" rapidly gained in popularity, while its fearless editor contrived, without giving a handle of offence to the Government, to discuss such subjects as the redemption of the peasantry, the union of Hungary with Transylvania, the reform of the

municipalities, the extension of the franchise, centralization and municipal government, &c. &c. He secured the services of men of the first talent for his paper; and, as the articles always appeared with the signature of the writers, they carried with them considerable weight, as being known to express the opinions of the leading men of Hungary. Szentkirály, Bezérédy, Baron Joseph Eötvös, Pulszky, Fay, contributed to its pages, so that the journal soon became a rich magazine of political science. Its chief power, however, lay in the sincere and earnest spirit of Kossuth himself, which influenced and guided the work: the main-spring of all his actions was an ardent love for his country, and the object of his fondest desires was to see Hungary elevated in her relations both at home and abroad, in her social and political existence, in the province of her material as well as of her spiritual interests, to that importance to which her free constitution, her productive soil, and her brave people alike entitled her. It was with unflinching courage and energy that he fulfilled, to the letter, the conditions upon which he had accepted the task: "that he would neither be led astray by the frowns of the powerful, nor by the impatience of his countrymen." He perceived that the institutions of Hungary were still in a mediæval state, and required a radical reform; and he therefore spared the abuses of the municipal bodies as little as the usurpations of Austrian despotism.

An enemy however presented himself from a quarter where he might have been least expected. Count Stephen Széchenyi, the father of the "fashionable" opposition party in Hungary, published at this time a work entitled the *Kelet Nepe* (People of the East), which charged Kossuth with an attempt to revolutionize the country.

Whatever view might be entertained of the political opinions of Széchenyi, no doubt could exist with regard to

the rectitude of his intentions, and the genuineness of his patriotism; he attacked the *Pesti Hírlap*, however, upon completely false grounds, since it was the constant endeavour of Kossuth, both by words and actions, at this period and throughout his career, to strengthen and maintain the ancient institutions of the country by adapting them to the necessities of the time; he did not wish to deprive any class of its actual rights, but only to extend them to those who, by an abuse of the spirit of the Constitution, were deprived of their just share. He was indeed a radical reformer, but no revolutionist;* like our own Alfred, he, "as a wise man, contented himself with reforming, extending, and executing the institutions which he found previously established."†

Count Stephen Széchenyi first distinguished himself in the Diet of 1825, when a proposition was made for the foundation of a national academy of science; the question had been fully discussed without the means having come under the consideration of the Diet, when Paul Nagy, in the Lower House, quoting a celebrated saying of Montecucculi, remarked, that three things were wanting to their scheme; "the first was money, the second money, and the third again money;" he proceeded to draw a picture of the idleness and profligacy of the Hungarian Magnates, who dissipated their means at court regardless of their country, and who did not even speak their native tongue with sufficient accuracy to enable them to make use of it in the Diet. These allusions were intended for the Esterhazy's, Pálffy's, Apponyi's, &c.,

* "If time alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?"—*Bacon; Essay on Innovations.*

† "While the foundation and principle of a government remain good, the superstructure may be changed according to occasions, without any prejudice to it."—*Algernon Sydney.*

† See Hume's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 96.

and made a deep impression on the House; Széchenyi, then a young man, rose to offer the year's revenue of his estates, valued at 60,000 florins, for the Academy of Science. His father had already founded the National Museum,* and the noble offer of the son did not proceed from a momentary impulse, but was the result of a well-deliberated scheme to benefit his country by material improvements: while over-estimating the artificial strength of Austria, he did not comprehend the healthy vigour and native power of constitution which lay concealed beneath the more feeble exterior of Hungary; his only hope for her regeneration lay in measures which he knew would not be opposed by the Government. Schemes such as he devised could not meet with any serious objection from Vienna, since Metternich trusted that while the Hungarian people were occupied with scientific discoveries and projects for the improvement of their material condition, their attention would be diverted from political matters, and opportunities might thus be afforded to facilitate the gradual destruction of their ancient liberties, and to lead them to submit quietly to the despotic rule of Austria; Széchenyi, on the contrary, hoped from the same measures to obtain an opposite result, and believed, that, even while allowing Austria for the present to encroach upon the liberties of Hungary, he might, by improving the means of communication and increasing the material prosperity of the people, impart renewed vigour to the country, and enable it in time to shake off the usurpations of a foreign power; the examples of France, of Lombardy, and of Germany might have warned him that material prosperity and all the facilities of communication may co-exist with a despotic Government and the deepest moral degradation; the wily Austrian minister had calculated more surely the means by which to obtain his ends. How often have not

* See p. 154.

despots, angling after power, baited their hooks with material benefits which the people have gladly swallowed, to repent when too late; the wide pages of history are spread before mankind, but we are slow to gather wisdom.

In spite of many obstacles, the Count applied himself diligently to the construction of roads, and the improvement of the navigation of the Danube, the Theiss, and the canals. A company was formed by his exertions, which first introduced Hungarian steam-boats on the Danube, and another company, chiefly at his instigation, threw a chain bridge across the river, to connect Pesth with Buda. He established Casinos (the Clubs were thus styled, as the English term was prohibited by the Austrian police), and succeeded in various other schemes of public utility, in which he principally endeavoured to imitate what he had seen successfully practised in England. The benefits conferred were in themselves undoubtedly great, but they did not spring from the soil; they proceeded from, or were occasioned by himself, and a small body of his friends or associates. In free countries, like England and America, the material advantages the people enjoy are rather an effect than a cause. They have not produced virtue or freedom, however conducive to both, where they already securely flourish. Széchenyi had resided some time in England, and had returned so much impressed with her prosperity, and the practical working of a Constitution which in some respects resembled that of his native country, that in his enthusiasm he wished to make the resemblance still closer, and to adapt the customs, manners, and institutions of England to those of Hungary. He forgot that Hungary had customs, manners, and institutions herself, which were the growth of eight centuries, and that he might as well attempt to force an Englishman to assume the dress of an Hungarian noble, as to make Hungary, England.

By birth and education, Széchenyi belonged to the high aristocracy, and he was persuaded that all good for the country must originate in, and be carried through by, his own order, with the assistance of the lesser "Nobiles," but without that of the mass of the people. He wished, besides, to see the Hungarian aristocracy occupy a position approximating to that of the English aristocracy.* He advocated the commercial laws, and summary justice in cases of debt, chiefly on the ground that they would eventually promote the interests of the "Nobiles," as he endeavoured to prove by a careful calculation, and he was against referring political measures of importance to the consideration and decision of the *Comitâts*, the old municipal institutions of the country, where the lesser "Nobiles" had the preponderance over the titled *Magnates*; in these meetings the titled noble had to meet the untitled on terms of equality, which together with the abuses which had crept into them, had disgusted him with the whole system. His principle, like Napoleon's, was, "*all or much should be done for the people, but nothing by the people.*"† In his admiration for

* The *Magnates* of Hungary date their titles only from the accession of the Hapsburg dynasty, 1564, as in former times they were only the great officers of the Court and Governors of Counties, and were simply Barons or Counts of the kingdom. Considerable obscurity seems to exist concerning the origin and rights of the Chamber of *Magnates*. At one time the two Chambers sat together. It has no power but that of veto or approval of an act sent up by the Lower Chamber, and it is not settled whether those who have a right to their seats derived from their title alone have an equal vote with those who derive theirs from offices and estates.—*Page's Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. i. p. 182.

† The practical effect of this maxim may be seen on the Continent, and that of the reverse in England and America. Napoleon did *all* for the French people, and his fame rests more on his material improvements and his laws, than on his victories; yet the French people continue under a despotism, by whatever name their government is called,

England, he forgot that municipal institutions, and self-government, which he despised and underrated at home, were the foundations of all her prosperity. He was, in short, a friend to centralization, that system upon which the liberties of France, as well as those of other countries of Europe, have long since been wrecked.

Yet it was the pride of Széchenyi to be considered the only *practical statesman* in Hungary: it is for posterity to pronounce whether that man was really worthy of the name who endeavoured to shake the basis of the political institutions of his country, in order to substitute an idea of his own, built almost entirely upon an imitation of a foreign nation, or he, who like Kossuth, desired rather to reform and improve existing institutions and adapt them to an age of higher civilization than that in which they were first devised.

While Széchenyi claimed to be considered as the prophet and dictator of the people in all political and social matters, Kossuth was only ambitious of the honour to be a faithful exponent of the genius, the wishes, and inclinations of Hungary. By the ancient law of the country, the King shared the legislative power with the Diet, and conducted the executive through the central boards, but the laws as well as the orders of the central boards were enforced by the *Comitâts* or their officers. These officers were "Nobiles," and most of them landed proprietors, elected every three years by men of their own class, and were neither dependent for their salaries upon their electors nor upon Government.* The central boards, the higher courts of justice,

and even the material advantages enjoyed in France, with the exception of Paris, and still more in Germany and Italy, are inferior to those which result from the efforts of the people in England and America.

* The salaries were paid by the unprivileged class. "They were,"

and all the most important offices of the State were, on the other hand, filled by Austrian dependants, and were consequently corrupt. If Austria, secure of a majority in the Diet, by the number of her partisans there, issued an illegal act, the Comitâts refused to execute it, and where so large a body of people were concerned, it was impossible to bribe them to acquiescence; it was, therefore, by these institutions alone that the liberties of Hungary had been maintained through eight centuries, in spite of every attempt to overthrow them by the sword or by the sceptre of despotism. Corruption and faction were circumscribed within the limits of the Diet and were chiefly successful in the upper chamber, whose members were for the most part, the willing instruments of Austrian tyranny. Any reform of the Diet was next to impossible, since it must have proceeded from within itself, and the self-reorganization of a political body has been at all times slow. The sole guarantee, therefore, for constitutional freedom in Hungary, lay in the Comitâts, the pure uncontaminated source of the self-government of the people. Combined action there could alone oppose the centralization of Austria. The sagacious and practical genius of Kossuth was no where more apparent than in his clear comprehension of this truth in the commencement of his career, and the steadiness with which he adhered to it throughout. When he first entered upon political life, the official communication between the counties was confined to local business, but through him they had learned that the great interest of the nation was their principal concern. Like Széchenyi, he thought it vain to exhaust the strength of the country in struggles against the might of Austria, in

remarks Brace, in his *Travels in Hungary*, p. 258, "hardly larger than a workman's wages in America; the offices were made as much as possible places of honour, and the citizens served for the excitement or the fame, and received only what would pay their extra expenses."

the hope of obtaining further concessions at the present hour, but unlike him, he considered the resignation of a single remaining right, to dear a price to pay for all the material advantages upon which the latter built such high expectations. He was as jealous as Wésselenyi had been, of the liberties of the country, but he did not cling to the dead letter of the constitution, and waste time and strength by fighting the ground inch by inch; he rather acted upon the *principle* on which the constitution was founded, and esteeming the municipal institutions as the true safeguards of freedom, he endeavoured to make them fulfil their original purpose, and begin by reforming themselves.

The marvellous success of Kossuth must be chiefly attributed to this line of policy, and those who reproach him with too democratic tendencies, must be here reminded that his reforms were in their commencement purely aristocratic, that he called upon the "Nobiles" to regenerate themselves, and upon the high aristocracy to lead their fellow "Nobiles" in the good work. The Pesti HirLáp commenced by an exposition of the abuses which disgraced the annals of the Hungarian Municipalities. Accused persons were sometimes allowed to remain three or four years in prison before being brought to trial; a few great "Nobiles" in a County were often suffered to fix the taxation of the unprivileged order according to their arbitrary wills; jealousy of a neighbouring County would cause roads to be neglected, and the means of traffic cut off, while the way which led to the castle of a favourite Vice Ispány was repaired at a lavish expenditure. Kossuth censured such misdemeanors in unqualified terms; he reprimanded the turbulent conduct of the youths in public assemblies, and denounced the practice of bribery and the use of intimidation at elections as an iniquity, which he affirmed to be a *national peril*, disgraceful to the most sacred cause, even when successful, by the use of unholy

means for its attainment. "A victory," he continued, "won by ignoble acts, is worse than a defeat, since it conducts the nation to a moral death, from whence there is no resurrection."

Kossuth was always averse to revolutionary haste. "Those schemes of wisdom are futile," he wrote, "which do not proceed from law, but within the boundaries of law, we must listen to the inspirations of sound reason, and we may not forget that under the shadow of a constitution which it has taken centuries to erect, the lives and interests of millions rest, who have as strong claims on our consideration and forbearance as on our justice." With these views he was desirous that while claiming a more just construction of the laws respecting the tenure of land, the interests of the present proprietors of the soil should not be overlooked.

He further exhorted those who, in their zeal for reform, were inclined towards extreme measures, to cherish the remembrance of the past, which amidst errors and darkness, contained much that was truly great and good, and therefore to respect the order of the aristocracy, which had hitherto played the chief part in the history of their country. He bade the people follow leaders whose names were associated with the most glorious recollections, while he at the same time admonished those to whom a nation turned with confidence at the very sound of their names, to whom a sphere of active usefulness was opened from their first entrance into life, which other men only attained through a series of long struggles, that it was their duty to lead the nation on in the pathway of reform. "Let them but renounce their narrow-hearted, selfish, unpatriotic views, let them but feel that to grant to others their rights is no sacrifice, but the best security for their own rights; let them but carry the white banner of rational progress crowned with the green garland of Hope, along the road of peaceful na-

tional prosperity and constitutional progress, and the nation will hail them with confidence as their leaders, and follow their traditional names with twice the enthusiasm with which they once followed their ancestors into the field of battle; but," Kossuth added, addressing the aristocracy in their own persons, "if there are men among you who think that the splendid name you have inherited from your ancestors is an inexhaustible capital, which confers on you the right to spend your lives in inaction, or even to set up your personal privileges and your private interests in the way of right and justice, and of the national commonweal; if such men are to be found, who by their blind egotism clog the wheel of the world's advance, or of that rational progress which should guide the counsels of a wise government, hindering that which the general need and the instinct of the nation demands, then—now, the nation unaided by you, will fulfil its own destiny—*with you, by you, if you will; without you, even against you, if it must be.*"

From the first appearance of the "Pesti Hirlap," Széchenyi had never ceased to agitate against the editor in casinos, clubs, private societies, and public places. He derided him everywhere as dangerous and noxious; and when he found declamations unavailing he took up the pen. His class prejudices were deeply offended by Kossuth having endeavoured to awaken the mass of the people to a consciousness of their own existence as a part of the nation, and by his energetic appeal to the high aristocracy for justice; he even felt himself personally aggrieved in the words of Kossuth; "that there were many in Hungary, who were friends to liberal views as long as freedom could be bestowed as a gift from themselves, but who feel injured by an age which rejects the gift, and demands their freedom as an act of right and justice: the aristocratic reformer turns from this demand with all the indignation of a proud mag-

nate, who would perhaps throw a handful of gold to a whining beggar, but at the same moment would set his dog on the poor labourer who reminds him of a just debt."

The "Kelet Népe" (People of the East) of Széchenyi, far from having the intended effect of injuring Kossuth in the eyes of the nation, rather helped, by the violence of its abuse, and the spirit of bitterness in which it was written, to draw public attention more than ever upon him. The Count could not divest himself of two fixed ideas; the first, that he himself had awakened the nation from death into a new life, and therefore, that he alone had the right to conduct that life, to be the sole physician to prescribe medicine and a diet to the people; and the second, that agitation was now superfluous since, as he wrote, "*I agitated with word and pen, I awakened the sleepers, and fixed the fuel beneath the cauldron of the frozen land; the 'Pesti Hirláp' thunders to those who are already on the watch, and heats the cauldron to bursting;*" the Count hastily concluded that *he* had completed the work, that the necessity for reform was universally acknowledged, that there was no further occasion for incitement to action, but only for consultation as to the means by which the reform might be effected. The failure of his own appeal to his country a few weeks later, might have convinced him of his error, if he had not been pre-determined to oppose every idea which originated from Kossuth.

In the "Kelet Népe" his jealousy of him as a rival broke forth. Kossuth had taken his place as leader of the Liberal party in the nation, and Széchenyi's star waxed pale beside one of so much greater brilliancy. Yet to every accusation he appended the words, *that nevertheless, Kossuth might be an upright man and true patriot.* He concluded his work by declaring the freedom of the press (a freedom at that time curtailed by a strict censorship) to be a dangerous benefit,

and that the government would have done well, if, in the preceding Diet, it had withstood every extension of the limits of speech and writing.

Kossuth considered it would be unfair to take advantage of his position to reply to these attacks in so popular a journal as the "Pesti Hírlap." Accordingly he published his vindication in the form of a separate pamphlet, which, though not so ponderous as that of Széchenyi, refuted the principal charges with dignity, while he at the same time made an ample and frank acknowledgment of the services the Count had already rendered to the country, and expressed his willingness to sink past differences, and listen to his advice and opinion on public matters. In reply to some of his assertions, he argued that a people on whom the words and acts of Széchenyi in 1825 had produced so surprising an effect, was not then so inanimate as the Count imagined, and that great as was the debt of gratitude they owed to individuals, it did not render it imperative on them blindly to follow their benefactors, in whatever direction they happened to lead.

A second opposition paper was now started by the Government party, entitled the "Világ" (Light), edited by Count Aurel Dessweffy, one of the most distinguished statesmen of the day, the leader and orator of his party in the Diet of 1839-40. He was the only man whose talents enabled him to compete with Kossuth. He endeavoured to destroy the influence of the "Pesti Hírlap," sometimes by ridicule, and sometimes by insinuating suspicions against its character. He was, however, carried off by a nervous fever in 1842, and his brother and successor, Count Emil Dessweffy, being a man of very inferior capacity, the "Pesti Hírlap" remained from that time undisputed the first political journal of Hu

CHAPTER VI.

1841—1844.

Count Emil Dessweffy — Count Albert Sztáray — Taxation of Hungary — Kossuth opposed by Széchenyi — Fund of Széchenyi — Is supported by Kossuth in the Comitat of Pesth — The Honoratiore, or Middle Class — The Border Duties of Hungary — Kossuth proposes a reform in the Tariff — Diet of 1843-44 — Austria returns to her former policy — Croatia — Louis Gay — Illyrism — Klauzal, the leader of the Diet — Deak — Kossuth proposes a separation from Croatia — Introduction of the Magyar language in official matters — The Slavonic dialect — Kossuth opposes the views of the Ultra Magyars — Széchenyi — Count George Apponyi, Chancellor — Kossuth deprived of the Editorship of the "Pesti Hírlap."

THE Government had tried, since 1840, to conciliate the good will of the principal men of the country, by the donation of offices and benefices. Count Emil Dessweffy, who now acted as the organ of the Austrian party, had once belonged to the Liberals, and had written various articles to prove the injustice of the "Nobles" being exempted from taxation. His example was followed by Count Albert Sztáray, though solely with the intention of increasing the power of the wealthy aristocracy. His scheme was, that each nobleman should command a certain number of votes, in proportion to the amount of taxes he should be obliged to pay, and varying according to the extent of his property. This would have enabled those wealthy Magnates, whose large estates included land in several Counties, to out-vote

all the remaining "Nobiles," and thus, instead of a fair share in the Legislature, the whole power would have fallen into their hands. The question was discussed in the "Pesti Hirláp," and though from Kossuth's well-known opinions, it might have been expected that he would at once have demanded equal taxation, he avoided rousing the hostility of an oligarchical faction, or making any sudden change, by proposing a middle course in the commencement.

The direct taxation of Hungary was voted for two distinct purposes: first, that for the support of the army conceded for three years by every Diet, amounting to an annual grant of 4,470,244 florins levied by, and at the disposal of, the Government; which also derived a revenue from the monopoly of the salt mines, the domains of the Crown, the Post Office, &c., &c., which was paid into the Exchequer. Secondly, the Cassa Domestica, "Municipal Taxes, those destined to defray the expenses of the internal administration, amounting annually to about 3,500,000 florins. The "Nobiles" might, with some plausibility, refuse to participate in the former, since no account was rendered to them of the manner in which it was expended; but there could be no reason why they should be excepted from the payment of the latter, which they themselves levied, and disposed of in every Comitât, and out of which the salaries of their officers were paid. Kossuth therefore determined to try if it were possible to persuade the "Nobiles" themselves to propose taking their share in the Municipal Taxes. He argued upon historical facts, and produced legal and logical reasons why they should submit to taxation; they were indebted for their position in Hungary less to their high birth, than to the readiness with which their ancestors had accepted the task of bearing the heaviest burdens of the State. It had been their duty to repel foreign invasion, and they had only claimed the assistance of the peasantry in

cases of extreme danger. Now, in an hour of peace, the State demanded from them, a sacrifice of a peaceful nature, a sacrifice not of blood, but of gold; and they could only expect to preserve their influence and dignity, by showing themselves as willing as their forefathers had been, to act for the good of their country. He pointed out the absurdity of demanding that the commonwealth should be supported by men who were without property, the acquisition of which freed them from the obligation, precisely when they were best able to fulfil it; but above all, he dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the obvious injustice of the "Nobiles" alone possessing all the offices of the State, and being empowered to levy and dispose of taxes paid by the rest of the community. He had an answer ready to meet every objection which was raised; and although the question was not one only of money, but one which involved the very existence of a privileged class, Kossuth, in six months, had gained over eighteen Comitâts to his opinion. So rapid were his conversions, that a few months later he was secure of a majority in the ensuing Diet; but the Conservatives strained every nerve to defeat the movement, and by the aid of the Government were finally successful. They were indebted for their success, in a great measure, to the efforts of Count Széchenyi, whose personal jealousy or patriotic fears increased the hatred he nourished against the editor of the "Pesti Hírlap," a hatred which he has since expiated by bitter repentance. He had never objected to equal taxation when brought forward by Desswefly and Sztáray, but no sooner was it taken up by Kossuth, than he opposed it with all his well-known rancour and violence. Instead of a system of equal taxation, he laid before the public a scheme of his own, by which he proposed the formation of a separate fund to defray the expenses of internal improvements. The taxes paid by Hungary into the Exchequer had never varied in

amount from 1764, and as not a fraction had been expended out of them for the benefit of Hungary, they might be regarded more as a tribute paid to Austria, than taxes for the administration of the country. The scheme of Count Széchenyi therefore was intended to supply this deficiency, by a kind of second treasury or subsidy levied on the "Nobiles" by their own consent. He demanded from the Opposition a declaration in favour of his views, which could not be carried out without their acquiescence. Kossuth, instead of cherishing ill-will towards the author of schemes devised purposely to frustrate his own, promised him his most active support. He redeemed his word when in the Comitât of Pesth, he urged the cause of his rival in so obivaltious a manner, bestowing such sincere commendation on his patriotism and spirit, that Széchenyi was himself shamed into silence. But even the united efforts of the patriots could not prevail upon the "Nobiles" to submit to taxation in any form. Kossuth was deeply mortified, but while owning his disappointment, he acknowledged that it was almost hoping too much from human nature, to expect any body of men to make so large a sacrifice of money as well as of their personal rights, even though an appeal were made to their justice and generosity. He was now persuaded that the privileged orders possessed neither the moral force nor the ability to regenerate the nation; one way was still open; the more liberally disposed, those who were sincerely desirous of progress, must quit the circle of their own caste, and seek support among men of the unprivileged order; and the people for whom they were labouring must no longer remain passive spectators, but rouse themselves to co-operate with their friends. It was to the Honoratiôres, the most highly educated men belonging to the middle class of Hungary, to whom Kossuth now turned. These comprised the chief intelligence of the country, those who not

being of noble descent, were excluded from the privileges of the "Nobiles," though occupying the position of professional men, physicians, lawyers, or officers in the army. While the Catholic hierarchy were most of them, if not all, "Nobiles," the Protestant clergy even when noble by birth, belonged by their office to the Honoratiore.* Pesth and a few other Counties had the power, on certain occasions, to invite the Honoratiore to take a part in the proceedings of their Comitâts, and even to have a voice in their meetings, but as they generally voted with the Liberal party, they were never admitted, where the majority was composed of Conservatives. For this reason a difficulty was presented, in the impossibility of obtaining their support through the political institutions of the country; another means however suggested itself to Kossuth, which was to raise the occupation of the middle class in the estimation of the people, by promoting the interests of trade, commerce, and manufactures, which had been hitherto regarded as derogatory to any belonging to the privileged order.

The nation had in the Diet of 1832-36, as well as on former occasions, vainly urged upon the Government the necessity of removing the duties imposed upon commerce by the Border Tariff between Austria and Hungary. The indirect taxation by the oppressive Tariffs of Austria had been wrested by the Austrian Government from the control of the Diet. As Free Trade principles had always been prevalent in Hungary, the duties upon Hungarian produce would have been little more than nominal; the Tariff was,

* This is not peculiar to Hungary, but inseparable from the existence of a hierarchy, or Church paid by the State. The Dissenting Ministers of England, however superior in intellectual or moral qualities, though not now subject to disabilities on account of their profession, are looked upon both individually and as a class, as inferiors by the lay members and clergy of the Established Church.

therefore, levied under the form of heavy Austrian exports, transit, and import duties, and it was supposed in Hungary, that the abolition of the Tariff would open a freer market for her produce. Kossuth undertook to demonstrate that this expectation was illusory: the exports of the natural products of Hungary were already so lightly taxed, that they might be said to enter Austria free, whereas the products of Austria imported into Hungary were burdened with a heavy duty: as these consisted chiefly of manufactured goods, and the interest of the Austrian manufacturer had already been secured by laws which repressed Hungarian industry, by prohibiting all trade between Hungary and any other country but Austria, the market would be no greater than before, even though the Tariff were abolished. The Austrian article being attainable at a lower price would only serve in this case to destroy the germ of commercial industry springing into life in Hungary. But, on the other hand, if entire Free Trade were conceded, Hungary would then find a greater market for her raw products, and would receive the produce of the industry of all countries both more perfect and cheaper than the monopolized manufactures of Austria. With or without the Border Tariff, Hungary was, in her present condition, at the caprice or will of Austrian traders, and it was only the high price the people had to pay for Austrian goods, occasioned by the duty upon them, which now gave a stimulus to home manufactures. Therefore since entire Free Trade was denied, Kossuth demanded in the name of the Hungarian people, instead of an abolition of the Border Tariff, a more equitable system both as regarded foreign goods, and Austrian manufactures; and further, that the Tariff should not be so constructed as solely to favour the latter country; that the Hungarian merchant should not be forced, from the absence of all competition from abroad, to dispose of the raw

products as well as the manufactured goods of his country to Austria, at a price below their real value, while the Hungarian purchaser was at the same time obliged to pay an exorbitant price for Austrian manufactures, because other foreign manufactures were excluded from the Hungarian market.

"Our situation," Kossuth justly remarked in the "Pesti Hírlap," "at present resembles a prison in which we are only permitted as much freedom as will enable us to open or close our doors against those who suck our life-blood. The abolition of the border duties, while retaining the Tariff in our intercourse with foreign countries, would rivet us to the walls of our prison, and enable our neighbours to drain our veins without resistance. Free Trade if you will, but no monopoly for the blood-suckers. But if Austria will neither give us Free Trade, nor regulate the Tariff by the laws of justice and equality, Hungary must endeavour, by social means, by the free will of her sons, to secure that protection for her germinating industry which is refused to her by law. Like England, who at one time rejected the silk and woollen manufactures of the East Indies, and was contented with her own inferior goods for the sake of promoting her domestic industry—like America, whose sons at first depended on English wares to supply the want of home manufactures, but later prided themselves on being worse clothed, that they might learn how to make better stuffs—so must the Hungarian patriots voluntarily determine for a period to use nothing but the inferior manufactures of Hungary, since the nation can only thus be indemnified for the compulsion to which it must yield; and by forcing the Austrians out of the market, assist to revive the national industry."

As the most important aid to his projects, he insisted on an improved system of education, on encouraging science

and native literature, and on the cultivation of the Hungarian language.

Kossuth and Széchenyi were agreed on the necessity of these social reforms, and the former was ever ready to acknowledge the meritorious exertions of the latter; but with Kossuth, material improvements were subservient to higher aims; Széchenyi, while equally desirous for the regeneration of his country, was so blinded by class prejudices and personal vanity, that he could see but one path, and that a tortuous one, uncertain in its direction, by which to arrive at the end he had in view; while Kossuth, surveying the whole prospect with an unclouded vision, and a comprehensive as well as calm mind, perceived the most salient points, and marked the high roads which the people must traverse to secure constitutional freedom.

The Diet of 1843-44 had commenced its sittings. The conciliatory policy which the Austrian Government had thought it advisable to follow after the close of the Diet of 1840 had been once again changed, and every measure brought forward by the Liberal party was as steadily opposed as formerly. The Court thought itself strong enough to pursue this retrograde course. It had besides discovered other expedients by which it might undermine the liberties of Hungary, and create another ally, or rather instrument, by which to compass its purposes. Such an instrument was Croatia.

This province had been conquered by Hungary in the eleventh century, but instead of being treated like a conquered people, the Croats were admitted to all the rights and privileges of the Hungarian Constitution. Not only were they represented in the General Diet, but they retained a provincial Diet of their own to transact the business peculiarly appertaining to the Province, to which their several Counties also sent delegates. When, in the seven-

teenth century, the Emperor, King Joseph II., forcibly separated them from Hungary and annexed Croatia to Styria, they protested loudly against this act of tyranny, and never rested until they were re-united to Hungary. By the peace of Campo Formio* a part of Croatia was ceded to France, which was restored at the treaty of Vienna, and from that time it was governed as an Austrian province.

Croatia again protested and endeavoured to recover her Hungarian rights, and in 1823 the Hungarian Diet, resting its claims on the Pragmatic Sanction by which Croatia was inseparably united to Hungary, insisted upon its restitution, and finally obtained the consent of Austria to the desire of both countries. The Croats are a Slavonic race, and all followers either of the Greek church or the Roman Catholic; they are so bigoted to their peculiar forms of religion that they forbid all Protestants to hold property or to reside in the province: this law produced the first dissension between Hungary and Croatia in the Diet of 1832—36, when its abolition was proposed. The Croatian delegates divided with the minority, but the House of Magnates rejected the bill; as it was however probable that it would pass in the ensuing Diet, Louis Gay, a young man of literary attainments, openly patronized by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, which furnished him with a printing-press, took the lead in a movement which obtained the name of Illyrism.† The

* A.D. 1797.

† Illyrism. This name was not now used for the first time. When the Deputies for the Hungarian Diet in the reign of Leopold II. demanded the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, or at least, the fulfilment of the article in the Golden Bull of Andrew II., by which every free man in Hungary might withstand the illegal measures of the king, the "Illyrians," as they were called, rose so opportunely on the side of the king, that it was impossible to attribute the movement to

project was to unite Croatia, Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia in a great Slavonic kingdom by the dismemberment of Hungary and Turkey, and their watchword, "The National Independence of Croatia." May not we here trace the intrigues of Russia in a country where her influence through the Greek church was predominant, against the only two nations which could offer any impediment to the fulfilment of a part of Napoleon's prophecy—"En cinquante ans l'Europe sera, ou Cosaque, ou republicain."

The excitement occasioned by these proceedings, and the measures proposed to put a stop to them, occupied the Diet of 1843—44. Gabriel Klauzal, the supporter of Deak in 1832—36, was now the leader of the Opposition; Deak had ever been one of the most strenuous advocates for the "Nobles" taking their share in the Cassa Domestica (Municipal Taxes); the Conservatives, therefore, made a great effort to defeat his election for this Diet; the Liberals were however successful; but when Deak learnt that direct bribery had been used to return him, he refused to take his seat; and it was in vain his friends used all the sophistical arguments by which the conscience is often appeased on such occasions: he would not in any way sanction conduct which he could not honestly approve, and therefore retired from public life until the Diet of 1847.

In the meantime the majority of the Croatian people were still inclined to preserve the union with Hungary, but unhappily they were inert in their movements, and were soon overpowered by the fanatic violence of the party led by Louis Gay. The Austrian Government, alarmed by the conspiracy

mere chance. They then demanded a separation from Hungary, and in 1791 they were granted an "Illyric Chancery," at Vienna, which lasted until the king had obtained all he wanted from the Hungarian Diet, when it was dissolved, and the cause of Illyrism forgotten. At that time, however, only the serfs called themselves Illyrians.

of "Illyrism," attempted at first to put it down, but when at the close of the Diet of 1843—44, they had again placed themselves in a hostile attitude towards the Hungarian Liberals, they changed their policy. Government offices were bestowed on Gay and his associates, and he himself was distinguished by tokens of imperial favour, while the Hungarian party in the Croatian Diet was excluded; when the Hungarian Diet of 1844 insisted on proclaiming religious freedom as a fundamental law of the kingdom, the King forbade the law extending to Croatia whose deputies maintained that—"*Intolerance was the most precious of their municipal rights.*"

In the small cloud on the horizon Kossuth perceived the approaching storm, and proposed in the Comitát of Pesth that a legal separation should take place between the two countries; he was met by signs of universal disapprobation, and the indignant outcry at such a proposal was not confined to Hungary; the friends of Hungary in Croatia felt themselves personally aggrieved, and even the party of Illyrism represented the proposition as an insult. Later events proved its wisdom to all parties, though too late to profit by experience.

The breach which intolerance had begun was still further widened by an enactment of the Hungarian Diet which proposed that in all official matters the Magyar language should be substituted for the Latin hitherto in use. The Croats were however permitted the use of Latin for the six ensuing years in their correspondence with the Hungarian Comitats; but, after that time, it was determined that all documents addressed by them to the General Diet, or to the Central Government, should be in Magyar. The disadvantage of carrying on the legislation in a dead language with which the mass of the people were only partially if at all acquainted, was generally acknowledged, and the choice made of the

Magyar in preference to all other languages spoken in Hungary or her dependencies was, because the Magyar race was by far the most numerous, and the language was not only the most generally spoken but also had received the highest cultivation.* The Croatian was only a Sclavic dialect and had been totally neglected; there were not above three or four books existing in the language, and the prayer books used by those of the Greek persuasion were for a long period printed in Russia. Though, latterly, it was prohibited to print them out of Austria, many Russian idioms remained; and from this similarity in language as well as in religion, Russia exercised a greater influence in Croatia than in any other country where the Greek religion prevailed.

Though Kossuth was strongly impressed with the necessity of the Magyar becoming the official language throughout Hungary, he was also fully aware that the hopes of the country lay principally in the amalgamation of her different nationalities into one undivided strong nation. He expected such an amalgamation could more readily be produced by improvements in the political institutions of the country, by which all might be enabled to share in their benefits, than in the exclusive use of any particular idiom. For this reason, in the "Pesti Hírlap" he opposed the claims of the Ultra-Magyar patriots, who agitated in the halls of the Comitatus, as well as in contemporary newspapers,

* A similar question was once brought before the State of Pennsylvania, when the Germans, who formed two-fifths of the inhabitants, claimed to have the laws and messages of the President published both in German and English. The votes were equal, when the speaker, Mühlenberf, himself a German, gave his casting vote in favour of English alone, as he alleged that if two languages were made use of, the people from all nations inhabiting Pennsylvania might put in a claim for theirs.

(such as the "Jelider," the paper of Széchenyi) to force the Hungarian language upon the people, and not merely to restrict its use to official communications. "Hate," he wrote, "can never produce love; if we would spread our nationality, let us not scare those nearest to us; sound policy and Christian charity alike condemn such a proceeding. . . . Let us bind all foreign elements by the kindly bond of sympathy, &c." Again, he remarked in the "Pesti Hírlap;" "With regard to the question of language, it is due to our dignity as a nation whose independent existence we are called upon by word and deed to assert, to draw a boundary line within which we are justly entitled to govern, and beyond which our power does not extend. This boundary line can be no other than that which determines that all the branches of public administration without exception, as well as the official returns made to the Hungarian Government and Hungarian localities, shall be carried on in the Hungarian language. . . . *To enact less than this would be weakness, to demand more tyranny.*"

Such was the unguarded enmity of Széchenyi towards Kossuth, that, at the very time when the Count himself was strenuously advocating an immediate and general introduction of the Magyar tongue, not confining it alone to official communications, and shortly after having contended for this end in the Comitât of Pesth, he accused Kossuth from the Chair of the Academy of Sciences, of violence in forcing the Hungarian language upon the people.

The Diet had been dissolved, and the Chancellor, Count Antony Mailáth, was replaced by Count George Apponyi, a young man of decidedly oligarchical tendencies, and imbued with the prevailing French theories of what was termed "a strong Government." He had talent enough to discern where the real strength of the Liberal party lay, and to be opposed to the County institutions. His first

attack was directed against the man who had revived their ancient free spirit. In the summer of 1844, he had succeeded, while the Diet was still sitting, and before he had attained to the office of Chancellor, in depriving Kossuth, by an intrigue, of the editorship of the "Pesti Hirláp." The publisher (Ludwig Landerer) was induced to break with him, upon some slight pretence: and Kossuth at the same time received a proposal from high quarters, if he abandoned the "Pesti Hirláp," to edit a newspaper of which he would be the sole proprietor. The scheme appeared extremely advantageous, since it did not only hold out a prospect of greater profit, but of more freedom of action, which to him was of far higher importance. But no sooner had he resigned the editorship of the "Pesti Hirláp," than the promised favour was withdrawn; and he found himself unexpectedly precluded from the employment of a journalist. He could, however, retire with the satisfaction that his work had not been vain.

Several of the Liberal Magnates, and among others Count Louis Batthyanyi, immediately subscribed to purchase a large estate with the intention of presenting it to him. They were desirous of increasing his influence in the country, and by rendering him independent of his professional labours, to enable him to devote his whole time to politics. But Kossuth who, though not a wealthy man, enjoyed a sufficient competence to satisfy the unambitious desires of himself and of his family, and who had never allowed himself to be bound to any party by the ties of interest, steadily refused the generous offer.

CHAPTER VII.

ÆT. 42—44.

1844 — 1846.

Vote of the Diet upon the commercial question—Kossuth's views with regard to Protection and Free Trade—The Védegylet, or Society for Protection—Count Casimir Batthyányi—Kossuth writes upon Taxation—His schemes for the material welfare of the country—The Honoratióres—Organizes associations or companies for trade and manufacture—The Védegylet regarded as a political association—Kossuth institutes Savings' Banks—Society for encouraging industry—The Commercial Company—Government attempts to put a stop to these associations—Kossuth proposes to convert Fiume into a Hungarian Port—Railroad commenced from Vukovárs to Fiume—Kossuth comes into closer connexion with the Liberal Magnates—Effect of the Reforms of Kossuth on the country and on the character of the people.

On the 15th September, 1844, a majority in the Diet voted that a remonstrance be laid before the King, to the effect "that as the existing system of tariff stifles the industry of our native land, prevents improvement in agriculture, renders it impossible that internal trade shall flourish, and stagnates all foreign commerce, and as a change can no longer be postponed;" the Diet demands that the Austro-Hungarian commercial relations be immediately taken into consideration, with the view of a complete transformation. On the 7th November following, an answer was received in the well-known courtly language of Austria, containing a promise that the matter should at some future period be

considered and amended. The Diet, however, was not to be thus easily satisfied, and finding it vain to look for a redress of grievances from Austria, they issued a declaration on the 9th November, stating that they perceived no other means by which their object could be accomplished but by a voluntary sacrifice on the part of every citizen, and a resolution to establish a system of protection in their own homes.

The "Pesti Hírlap," while under the editorship of Kossuth, had contributed to strengthen the feeling he had first awakened in favour of Protection. Free Trade or Protection was with Kossuth, as with every practical statesman, a question rather of expediency than of right. He was of opinion that where a nation is independent, and where the resources of the country are allowed their full development, Free Trade should be permitted, and that the result would prove a mutual benefit to all nations; but where manufacturing industry is still in its infancy; commerce, hampered and oppressed by restrictive laws; where, in short, the interchange is only permitted with one foreign country, Protection, for a time, becomes a necessity: Austria could only be forced into a sounder line of policy, by declining her manufactured goods. Kossuth was therefore practically a Protectionist in 1844, because by Protection alone he could hope to obtain Free Trade, but no sooner had Hungary shaken off the trammels of Austria, than he threw her commerce open to the world.

A society for the purpose of Protection; called the Védelylet, had already been instituted, and held its first sitting on the previous 6th October, in the Chamber of Deputies at Presburg. It was presided over by Count Casimir Batthyányi, a Magnate descended from one of the oldest families in Hungary.* At this meeting a resolution was passed, that

* The family of Batthyányi traces its genealogy as far back as the

the members should only make use of home manufactures, for the purposes of dress, furniture, &c. &c. The dissolution of the Diet on the 10th November, scattered the Deputies to their respective homes, and spread information concerning the movement throughout the country. Branch Societies were rapidly formed, and from the 17th November, 1845, when the first General Assembly was held, to August, 1846, the numbers had increased from 138 to 154.

After he had been deprived of the "Pesti Hirláp," Kossuth only twice again attempted, at this period, to influence the public through the press, in two articles upon taxation which he contributed to a weekly paper. The first was abridged before it was permitted to be inserted, and the second only appeared in its original form by an artifice of the editor, for which he was very nearly deprived of his licence. Kossuth now turned his whole attention to the material condition of the country, which he hoped to reform by means of associations for the benefit of Hungarian trade and manufactures. He had hitherto been disappointed in his expectation that the "Nobiles," as a body, would themselves carry out the principle of equal taxation. Such an achievement would pre-suppose a higher standard of morality than has perhaps rarely, if ever, been found in any community of men, but it was a touchstone on which Kossuth wished to test whether it would be possible through the agency of this one class alone, to effect those general reforms which he foresaw were indispensable for the well-being of the country. He had now arrived at the conclusion that the middle class must, as he expressed it,

settlement of the Magyars in the country. In 1630 Adam Batthyányi was raised to the dignity of Count, and his two sons, Christopher and Paul, were the founders of the two branches of the family. They have always been supporters of the Hapsburg dynasty. Count Casimir Batthyányi belongs to the elder branch.

"be introduced within the precincts of the Constitution," It was for this end, as has already been stated, that he aimed at the elevation of the Honoratiore, and of the commercial and manufacturing population. He hoped to create a powerful middle class, by raising the social position of professional men (Honoratiore) as well as of merchants and manufacturers, and by giving them political rights equal with those of the lesser "Nobiles," who represented the agricultural interest of the country.

He began by organizing various associations or companies for the support and promotion of Hungarian manufactures and commerce; and in order to prevent these enterprises falling under the centralizing influence of the General Government, he invited the chief men of the country to place themselves at their head, though he himself undertook the whole labour of their management. His attention was, in the first instance, directed towards the Védegylet.

The Védegylet had in its commencement been regarded as a society formed solely to advance the material interests of the country, and in no way connected with politics. In consequence of this prevailing opinion, the majority in the Diet of 1844, who voted in favour of the resolutions of the 13th September and of the 9th November, was not only composed of Liberals, but included many of the adherents of the Government or Conservative party. The movement was, however, declared by Government to be a demonstration of the Opposition, and several, in consequence, repented their co-operation, and petitioned in the most abject manner to have their names erased from the signatures. As the Government was more alarmed at the possible effect of the Védegylet than was thought expedient to acknowledge, an endeavour was at first made to destroy its influence by ridicule; when that failed, more serious

measures were resorted to. An attempt was made to rouse the loyal feelings of the people, by an assertion that the Védegylet aimed at accomplishing a separation of Hungary from Austria; strict injunctions were sent both to Hungary and Transylvania, that no official in the service of the King should be permitted to continue a member of the Society, and passports were refused to Austrian workmen, who were desirous of seeking employment in the manufactories of Hungary.

In the mean time, Kossuth was engaged with the affairs of the various associations he had started, while yet editor of the "Pesti Hírlap." The first in importance, as well as in order, was the Savings' Bank, which was opened at Presburg, and succeeded so well, that within two years the shareholders had quadrupled their capital. Another Bank was established at Pesth with nearly equal success, and the example was followed in most of the important cities of Hungary. By rendering Savings' Banks general throughout the country, Kossuth proposed gradually to emancipate Hungary from the monopoly of the Vienna Bank. His next work, coëval with the "Védegylet," was the "Ipar-egyesület," or Association for encouraging Industry. This society enabled lectures to be given gratis on mathematics, mechanical science, drawing, &c. &c., and a sort of Bazaar, the "Ipar-műtar," was connected with it, where the productions of Hungarian artists and manufacturers were exhibited and sold. Thus not only was a market opened for home manufactures, but an opportunity provided for those mechanics who had been stopped in the pursuit of their trades from want of means, to obtain money and materials in advance, by which they were enabled to continue their occupations.

Fully to appreciate the benefits conferred by this institution, and that of the Védegylet, it would be almost

necessary to be a native of Hungary, for a foreigner could hardly comprehend the amount of prejudice which existed in the upper classes, with regard to home manufactures. They were in the habit of purchasing every trifle from Vienna, and could not believe anything good which was not imported from the Austrian Capital. Nothing therefore could exceed their astonishment, when the "Ipar-egyesület" opened its first exhibition, to find the excellence of articles which had all been manufactured in Hungary. Confidence in the skill and inventive powers of the country was restored, or rather created, and with this confidence sprang up a desire among the artificers to produce that which was really good.

Another Association, the "Kereskedelmi Tarsasag," or Commercial Company, was formed for the purpose of extending the commercial relations of Hungary with foreign nations. It commenced with a large capital, and at the close of the first year the director of the company presented a satisfactory balance to the members in a general meeting. The business of the company and the number of the shareholders increased in the course of the second year; but, unfortunately, the director, though a young man of talent, had a turn for speculation, and after entangling himself in debt, involved the company in serious difficulties, and absconded. The blow was serious to Kossuth; it not only affected the credit of this company, but likewise that of all the commercial and industrial enterprises which owed their origin to him. He was not, however, to be discouraged; he persuaded the members of the "Kereskedelmi Tarsasag," that it was a duty they owed their country to maintain their position, even at a large pecuniary sacrifice; and instigated by him, they discharged the obligations they had taken upon themselves towards the merchants and companies abroad, and thus succeeded in restoring their honour and

credit; after which he re-organized the company, and placed two able directors at its head. It flourished even during the troubles of the Revolution, and was only dissolved in 1851, when the Austrian ministers, Schwarzenberg and Bach, would not suffer an institution to continue which owed its existence to Kossuth.

Long before the organization of the Védegyelet, Kossuth had foreseen the necessity of providing a foreign market, besides that of Austria, for Hungarian products. Although, from the absence of competition, Austria could regulate the price of goods, she could not consume the whole superfluity of Hungary. Consequently the fruitful land did not bear one half it was capable of producing, and in years of extraordinary harvests, many thousand measures of the best grain were lost from a want of consumers. It was therefore necessary, that a wider market should be found for Hungary, and that her produce should not be conveyed through Austria, as the Government there would always find some pretext for stopping it by the way. Kossuth had for many years endeavoured to direct the attention of the nation towards Fiume, as presenting the most commodious harbour for an Hungarian port, and from whence their merchandise could find its way to the world's market. For this object he laboured to induce the people to construct a railroad from Vukovárs to Fiume, which would have answered two purposes; it would have propitiated Croatia, since that province would have derived considerable benefit from the chief trade of Hungary passing through her territory, uniting her at the same time more closely to the sister country, and an outlet would have been afforded for the agricultural products of the rich plain of Hungary, for the Banat and Syrmium. Hungarian grain would thus have been brought into competition with that of Odessa in the London market.

While Kossuth was still urging the subject upon the public in the "Pesti Hírlap," a company was formed by his indefatigable zeal, and works commenced for a railroad as far as Carlstadt. In the Diet of 1843-44, the "Nobiles" offered to guarantee an interest of five per cent. on the capital, upon their own private fortunes. The Government, however, either prompted by fears for the interests of Trieste, or acting by the connivance of Russia, refused to sanction the bill. •

On the 7th January, 1845, an edict was passed by the Austrian Government to the effect, that in order to put an end to the abuses which had taken place in consequence of the societies lately organized in Hungary and Transylvania, the said societies would no longer be permitted to exist, unless their statutes were revised and sanctioned by the gracious approval of his Majesty. The Comitâts were admonished that wherever such were found, they should give information as to their origin, aim, and progress, and should order their discontinuance until they had received the Royal assent. The Government, however, did not venture to give these societies their real name; therefore, although the Comitâts knew well that the Védegylet was intended, most of them replied, that no society answering the description and wanting the Royal sanction existed within their jurisdiction, but only a few branch societies of the Védegylet which had emanated from the Diet. Upon this answer being received, the Government took up the question on statistical, instead of political, grounds. An official statement was published, in which the annual revenue derived by Hungary from Austro-Hungarian commerce was set down at fourteen million florins. Kossuth entered into a strict examination of the accuracy of this statement, and in August, 1846, delivered a masterly oration upon the subject before the General Assembly of the Védegylet, which lasted

three hours. He proved, by a detail of facts, that a false balance had been laid before the public, and after giving an exact analysis of the whole system of the Austro-Hungarian Tariff, he demonstrated by the most authentic statistical and commercial returns, that it was framed so as to enable the Hereditary States of Austria to derive profit from Hungary as from a colony, and that this intention had already been fulfilled to an alarming extent.

In these various schemes for the material improvement of his country, Kossuth had been brought into closer connexion with the leading Magnates of the Opposition party. Yet while readily concurring in projects which did not interfere with their class prejudices, they still shrank from the chastisement their selfishness and injustice received from his pen, and refused to abate one item of their exclusive pretensions, even to admit the best educated and most intelligent men of the country to participate in their privileges as free citizens.

The enthusiasm with which the Védegylet had at first been hailed, had begun to subside; some of the Austrian manufacturers who had left Vienna to settle in Hungary, in the hope of receiving a larger profit, had been disappointed, and rash speculations had in some instances failed, but Kossuth, nevertheless, had gained advantages of the utmost importance to the country; he had given an enormous impulse to Hungarian trade and manufacture; he had obliged the upper classes to see and confess the skill and ingenuity of their own countrymen, and called into active exertion the faculties of the intelligent middle class; he had shown the people in what their real interests consisted; and above all, he had proved to the opponents of constitutional freedom, that the Liberals were supported in their views by a majority of the whole nation. All this he had effected, not, like Széchenyi, by directing the people

how they were to act, or by forcing upon them novel theories of his own; but by a clear comprehension of the minds, feelings, and temper of the nation, by a just estimate of what the people were or were not prepared to receive, and by guiding them steadily towards the point he had in view. He steered the vessel with its unruly crew, to which he was the self-constituted pilot, safely and fearlessly through the billows which threatened every hour to devour her.

CHAPTER VIII.

ÆT. 42—45.

1844 — 1847:

Kossuth in the Comitát of Pesth—Royal Administrators appointed in place of the Fo-Ispánys—Speech of Kossuth—Resolution of the Comitát—Monopoly of Tobacco—Conduct of the Conservatives—Meeting in Buda—Declaration.—Széchenyi appointed Quasi-Minister of Public Works—His Programme.

THOUGH deprived of the use of the pen, Kossuth could still discuss the political questions of the day in the Chamber of the Comitát of Pesth. As this Comitát took the lead of all the Provincial Parliaments of Hungary, his speeches were read and listened to throughout the whole country. Supported by the party of the Opposition in Pesth, he had now for years combated the aristocratic views of Széchenyi, and the Conservative policy of Count Emil Dessweffy. The contest increased in vehemence when Count Apponyi, the leader of the Reactionists, was appointed Chancellor. He had proved himself by his late conduct so entirely the crea-

ture of the Austrian Ministers, that one of the most moderate men in the Diet, Baron Ant. Majthenyi, publicly renounced his friendship. His appointment was rendered still more obnoxious, by the privilege conceded to him of the nomination and payment of certain administrators in each County, who were to occupy the position which had always been held by the Hungarian Fő-Ispány.* The Fő-Ispány, as described by Brace in his "Travels in Hungary," "was an officer nominated by the Crown as Governor of the County. He had the approval of the candidates for County offices, and as chief magistrate, presided over the Courts of Law and Police; the execution of the Acts of the Legislature and the orders of the Government were confided to him, and it belonged to him to summon all the electors in the County every three years to nominate their officers. Various other duties of high trust devolved upon the Fő-Ispány, whose appointment was for life; and although by law it was at the disposal of the Crown, it had in many instances become a hereditary dignity, as in the families of the Batthyanyi's, Esterhazy's, Ille'hazy's," &c. &c. The Fő-Ispány was generally nominated from among the ancient and wealthy aristocracy, and only received a trifling salary from the funds of the Comităt. Independent alike of the Sovereign and of the Comităts, he formed a link between the despotic tendencies of the one and the democratic tendencies of the other, and when he acted with fairness and impartiality, the Fő-Ispány acquired the esteem and veneration of the people. The Royal Administrators, who were destined to supersede them, were chosen from among the courtiers, and received ample remuneration from Government; they were therefore bound to execute without hesitation whatever they were commanded, even

* The same attempt was made in 1827, but failed.

though contrary to law, and they were the blind instruments of the reactionary party in the State. The Government (as Kossuth stated, when addressing the Comitát of Pesth on this subject) proposed to convert the office of the Fő-Ispány into a species of French Prefecture, with this important difference, that, instead of being nominated by a responsible Ministry, it was to be bestowed by an invisible and inaccessible Chancery, from which instructions were to be received, to which secret reports were to be delivered, and upon which it was to be wholly dependent. The Administrators were, besides to have the entire disposal of the military, and were to nominate the candidates at an election. Means for intimidation and bribery were placed in their hands, and as Presidents over all the Courts of Justice in the Counties over which they ruled, the life and prosperity of every individual might depend upon their verdict.

"Can such a magistrate," proceeded Kossuth, "be called an Hungarian dignitary, or be compared to a Fő-Ispány? Is he not rather a Bohemian Captain* (Kreis-hauptman), under whom our Municipalities, the palladium of a thousand years of political existence will be endangered, and become a mere shadow? . . . It is said, that the appointment of the Fő-Ispány belongs to the King—undoubtedly; but he was a Fő-Ispány and no Bohemian Captain: finally it has been said—and what has not been

* Bohemia, since the reign of Charles IV., has been divided into twelve circles (or districts) besides Prague. Each circle has two Headmen or Captains, appointed annually for the administration of the Government, one from the State of Lords, and the other from that of knights. Bohemia, ever since the reign of Ferdinand, II. of the Hapsburg Dynasty, who destroyed Protestantism and the free constitution of the country by the sword, has been declared hereditary, and under the absolute sway of Austria, of which these Headmen are the tools.—*Nees' Encyclopædia.*

said to justify the conduct of Government?—that this illegal measure had been resorted to, for the purpose of maintaining *order*. . . . God is my witness, I know of no word which has been so shamelessly abused by despotism as this. In the name of *order*, Nicholas erased the high-spirited Poles from the list of nations; in the name of *order*, Ernest Augustus annihilated the constitution of Hanover; and in the name of *order*, Philip II. converted the Netherlands into a graveyard. This *order*, God be praised, Hungary does not, and will not, recognize; Hungary will be ruled by her laws alone, and if *order* makes a change in the administration necessary, let the assembled nation give its consent. Every other means by which a measure is attempted to be forced upon us, is not a measure for *order*, but for despotism, for illegality, and should be called *disorder*.”*

The Comitâts resolved forthwith to declare in form their apprehensions concerning the policy of Austria, and to exhort the Vice Ispány of each County to exert all his authority in defence of the independence of the Comitâts, both in their political and administrative capacities; in conclusion, they expressed their distrust of the government, and commanded the royal administrators to discontinue their functions.

Thirty-two Counties in Hungary had already been placed under the superintendence of administrators; the political existence of the nation had thus been attacked, and a blow was next levelled at her material prosperity. Tobacco had been long and successfully cultivated, and its production and sale had always been free. But the Austrian government now claimed the monopoly of all the tobacco grown in Hungary, and nearly as great a sensation was occasioned by this measure as by the attempt to put Austrian hirelings in the place of the ancient and traditional office of the Fö-

Spain. To smooth the way for the introduction of the monopoly, establishments for the sale of tobacco were erected in the most considerable towns of Hungary. Cigars, both of foreign and home manufacture, were sold at the lowest possible price, with the intention of ruining the existing manufactories belonging to private individuals; it being calculated that the royal exchequer would be amply recompensed for the loss of a few millions by the profits it would eventually derive from the monopoly. The Government was supported in this project by some of those very men who had for twenty years been contending against every attempt which might prove detrimental to the material prosperity of Hungary. The further the Opposition party advanced in the path of reform, and the more decisively public opinion pronounced in favour of an immediate remedy of ancient abuses, so much the more did the Conservatives tremble for their privileges; and, finally, impelled by their fears, they threw themselves into the arms of a government adverse to all progress.

The conduct of the Conservative "Nobles" on this occasion would have sufficed to prove, if proof were wanting, that Kossuth had formed a correct judgment, when from the first, he pronounced, that to advocate the national interests of Hungary, while neglecting and even sacrificing her political existence, was dangerous to constitutional freedom. They met in Buda, in November, 1846, to declare their determination, "to out-vote the Opposition in all questions, so long as they maintained their present line of policy, and by their numbers to support the Government while it continued in the present hands:" in return, they expected their party should be looked upon as the natural ally of Government, and, instead of denying or pleading ignorance of necessary reforms, the King and his Ministers should carry them on, through their instrumentality. The

Conservatives did not by any means allow that they were adverse to reform, but were only eager to prevent the Government again uniting with the Opposition party, or consenting to any measures which emanated from the Liberals. To provide against this contingency, they further insisted, "that no legislative enactment should deserve the name of progress and reform, where the constitutional and executive power of the Government, the moderating influence of property, the sacred right of possession, and the security of the Commonwealth, were not thereby strengthened and maintained." Under the shelter of these reservations, they could dispute every project for effectual reform; since, in the proposed alteration in the *Urbarium*, the Conservatives only demanded an alleviation of the evils which oppressed the peasantry, but not their redemption from dues unjustly imposed, and in the reform of the system of taxation only a means to provide for the expenses incurred by their own schemes for public utility, and not a general and equal taxation of all classes. By their *declaration*, they implied that no concession was to be made to the Opposition, by which the private interests or the privileges of the "Nobles" might suffer, and in return, the Constitution and the material prosperity of the country should be laid at the feet of the Cabinet of Vienna, the Conservatives only humbly petitioning for the favour of being permitted to fill some of the lucrative offices in the gift of Government by men of their own party. Convinced of the strength and uprightness of the Austrian Cabinet, they relied on its support, and little dreamed that, in a few short months, they themselves would be rejected, and their rivals preferred, to be in their turn also cast off.

Sasóhenyi, who stood almost alone between the two parties, was regarded unfavourably by both. He had been appointed by the Government a Counsellor, and Quasi-

Minister of Public Works, and now published his *Programme*, or sketch of his political views. This was a sort of appendix to the *Kelet Népe*, though exceeding it in bitterness of feeling. Its chief attack was directed against the two last articles published by Kossuth on taxation; in a weekly paper. Kossuth could not reply with any freedom, owing to the censorship to which he was subjected, and therefore maintained a dignified silence. After the conduct of the "Nobiles," when both he and Széchenyi had united in an endeavour to gain their consent to a partial taxation of the privileged class, it was impossible for the latter not to be convinced that one of the grounds on which he had formerly rested his arguments against Kossuth in the *Kelet Népe* could no longer be maintained; he therefore now changed his point of attack, and denounced the conduct of his rival towards the Government, which he asserted "had the best and most constitutional intentions, and had even now taken the lead in the movement for Reform." It was a strange time to choose for such an assertion, when nearly the whole nation had been driven into the camp of the Opposition, and when facts obliged even him to confess, that not one among the Governors appointed by Austria had fulfilled his duty towards Hungary, and that even the present Government, in spite of its "noble intentions," was far from "having done what ought to have been done;" he added, however, as an apology, that this failure was occasioned by "the nation always in the end deciding for itself, in what spirit it should be ruled." Yet while blaming Kossuth for his late denunciations of the conduct of Government, Széchenyi expressed his acquiescence in all he demanded, and acknowledged his purely patriotic views, and the remarkable powers of his genius which, he affirmed, could not be sufficiently admired; "the grandeur of his conceptions, and the brilliant arrangement of his materials

political masterpieces, the distinguished character of which was undeniable."

CHAPTER IX.

1844—1847.

Meeting of the Liberals at Pesth—Their Programme—Extracts of a Speech of Kossuth—Death of the Palatine Archduke Joseph—The Archduke Stephen—Election for the Diet of 1847—The Liberal Party desire that Kossuth should stand for this Diet—He hesitates—Is persuaded by Count Louis Batthyanyi—Early Life of Batthyanyi—Efforts of the Government to defeat the Election of Kossuth—His success.

THE energetic demonstrations of the Government in the case of the Administrators, and the monopoly of tobacco, the Declaration of the Conservatives, and the Programme of Széchenyi, stimulated the Opposition to a continuance of active measures. The fairs at Pesth, which took place at stated intervals every year, and which were attended by numbers of the greater as well as lesser "Nobles," presented an opportunity for conferences between the members of all parties in the State. During the fair of 1847, on the 15th of March, a general Assembly of the "Ellenzékikör" (Opposition Club) was held, presided over by Count Louis Batthyanyi.* The most distinguished Magnates and Deputies belonging to the Opposition, as well as the leaders of the Liberal party in the Comitats of Hungary, altogether

* A cousin of Count Casimir Batthyanyi, belonging to the younger branch of the family.

about six hundred persons, were present. Kossuth laid the sketch of a "Declaration" before the Assembly, which, after undergoing a few slight alterations in the course of the debate, and receiving some finishing touches from the pen of Francis Deak, was adopted and published, under the title of the "Programme."

It commenced by stating, that although the Liberals could never expect to have a share in the Government they were not influenced by any personal feelings, and therefore did not intend to direct their opposition against individuals but against acts: "that they considered the Government, since the last Diet, not only to have been neglectful in various matters of law and jurisdiction, but in many respects to have broken the laws, and endangered the interests of the country and of the Constitution." Further, "they felt themselves called upon to be vigilant, and to co-operate for the purpose of guarding the rights of the nation;" and since Hungary had been hitherto deprived of a purely National and Parliamentary Government,* the Opposition had not, and could not limit their operations simply to "control, and where necessary to oppose the Government but must further consider it imperative upon them to endeavour to bring about moderate reforms." For this end they were resolved to persevere steadily in maintaining their too frequent attitude, "that to which history has given the name of Opposition, and with which the Reform party has been long identified." Far, however, from claiming the initiative as their exclusive right, they declared themselves always ready, "as far as possible, to support every good and lawful measure proposed by Government;" their object being not to obtain high places in the State, but a victory of the good cause.

* From the suffrage being limited to one class, and from the interference of the Government in the municipalities of the towns.

"Let that which is good come from what quarter it may, by whomsoever brought forward, it may depend upon our support, and that we shall do our best to further it." They proceeded to express their conviction, that "if the interests of the citizens of all classes in the State were once united, national and constitutional development, the welfare and material prosperity of their native land, and the most powerful support to the Throne would be secured." For this purpose they demanded that "the Transylvanian Counties should be united to Hungary,* that the 'Nobles' and plebeians should share one common taxation, that all men should be equal before the laws, that the cities should be fairly represented in the Municipalities and in the Diet, that the impositions of the *Urbarium* should be wholly removed, that the *Avitizität*† should be abolished, and that there should be a national system of education."

The Opposition, while resolved to use all legitimate means in the approaching Diet to obtain these ends, declared their intention "never to give their consent to a single step which by unjustly surrendering the above mentioned lawful requests would sacrifice the interests of Hungary, or render them subordinate to those of the hereditary dominions of Austria."

• The Programme, it will be observed, demanded one common taxation of all classes without distinction of the two kinds of taxes; experience had now taught Kossuth that his first project of a partial taxation instead of gradually leading towards the desired measure, only served as an impediment.

* See Chapter, xi. p 277.

† The *Avitizität* related to the tenure of property in a family. It could not be legally sold, and its disposal was strictly cared for. The sons, on coming of age, might demand a certain portion as alimony; and at the death of the father, the estate was equally divided among them all.—See *Pagot's Hungary*, Vol. I., p. 404.

Had he, in the first instance, demanded all instead of part, the Conservatives would hardly have ventured to return an unqualified negative; they would, probably, have esteemed themselves fortunate if they could have conciliated their opponents by what must have been acknowledged to be only a fair partition; but the time for negotiation was now past; the "Nobles" must either consent to their own immediate taxation, or wait till the tax was imposed upon them by others. Political wisdom and past experience held out a warning that it was more prudent to anticipate an inevitable evil than to be overtaken by it, and since taxes were necessary for the support of a state, those who, although capable, refused to contribute their share, failed in one of their chief duties, and therefore were unworthy to enjoy the rights of citizens.

"The future existence of nations," said Kossuth, "is not an enigma which requires the gift of prophecy to discover; it is rather a mathematical problem whose solution can be best found in a right comprehension of the national history and its various relations. Therefore, I venture to pronounce without affecting to be a prophet, but only by a glance at the given numbers, that when we ask ourselves by whose agency the existence of Hungary is to be secured, and by whom the Hungarian people will become a truly constitutional nation, strong, free, and happy; we must not in our answer omit the nobles, whose political power has been steelled by the battles of a thousand years, or erase them from the list of labourers in the cause. It is because I do not forget them that I behold in the future of my nation the Noble one with the people, united by freedom, the true hearted first-born among his brethren, the leader of the family, who meet him everywhere with love and confidence, infusing courage and self-reliance in them by his strength, in the van of all their struggles, and still invincible, keeping

the watch at every point of danger which threatens the common home. In a word, the future of my nation presents itself before me in a form where the powerful influence of the "Nobles" appears, not by injurious privileges but by moral strength and historical importance, and as the seed from whence the fruit of universal freedom shall be developed."

About this period the old Palatine, Arch-Duke Joseph, died. The choice of a successor was a matter of no small moment. The appointment was for life, and was a prerogative of the Diet, in which the Crown could not interfere. The Palatine presided over the Central Boards, which were filled with the nominees of the King. He was the chairman of the higher courts of justice, and the guardian of the Constitution against the encroachments of the Government, the mediator between the Sovereign and the country, and had the power of convoking the Diet, when this obligation was neglected by the Crown; finally, he was President of the Diet, and commander of the insurrection, or general levy of the "Nobles." The prospect of the election of the Arch-Duke Stephen, the son of Joseph, was regarded with dread by the Court of Vienna,* who suspected him of coveting the crown of St. Stephen; and even the nation were disinclined towards him, as they feared again to trust the guardianship of their Constitution to an Austrian Arch-Duke. Long before the death of the old Palatine, the higher aristocracy had begun to entertain thoughts of electing a Hungarian Magnate to fill his place. The Palatine Joseph, however, had been much respected, and the Arch-Duchess was attached to Hungary, charitable, kind, and sincerely desirous to promote the welfare of the people;

* The Arch-Duke Stephen belonged to the younger branch of the House of Hapsburg, which was looked upon with much jealousy at Vienna.

their son had, therefore, early imbibed an affection for his native land, and soon after the death of the Arch-Duke, Kossuth proposed, in the Comitát of Pesth, that their delegates, at the approaching Diet, should receive instructions to vote for the election of Stephen. The proposition to place a Magnate in the vacant office would have been dangerous to the peace as well as freedom of Hungary: though the Arch-Duke was yet untried, and it might be doubtful into what scale he would throw his influence, yet it was the least hazardous experiment of the two; and it was hoped that he would lean towards the measures advocated by the party of the Opposition. The motion was therefore carried, and as all the other Comitáts followed the example of Pesth, the Court and high aristocracy saw they had no chance of success for any other candidate, and accordingly agreed to sanction the choice.

The Diet of 1847 was approaching. The Government, strongly supported by the Conservative party, employed every means in their power to obtain a majority. The Royal Administrators exerted themselves to their utmost, and neither bribery nor intimidation was spared. They succeeded in defeating many men of eminence belonging to the opposite party, and Beöthy, Klausal, Bezzerédy, and Vukovics, lost their elections. The Opposition, who feared it was vain to attempt to oppose numbers* to the Conservatives, resolved to endeavour to enlist the greatest amount of talent on their side. Kossuth had become so important a man in Hungary, that his presence was considered indispensable, and the inhabitants of Pesth were desirous that he should represent their Comitát. It would not have been difficult to secure his election for some unimportant County, but the

* Numbers in the Diet; the Liberals had a large majority in the country.

Opposition were determined to give a signal proof that their views were supported by the most considerable and largest County in Hungary.

Many obstacles presented themselves to this project. Kossuth had no connexion by birth with Pesth, and had only recently acquired a small property there. His being returned as member would, therefore, be unprecedented. He had several* competitors, high in office, and influential from their position. Some envied his rapid rise in popular favour, while some dreaded his schemes for the emancipation of the peasantry, and for other reforms. Ordinary minds could not embrace the vastness of his ideas, or comprehend how every project tended towards one aim, and therefore by such he was accused of versatility, while the timid feared his popularity with the mass of the people, or were alarmed at the bold attitude he had assumed towards the Austrian Government; more than all, the Government itself was sure to use all its power and influence to prevent his election. Kossuth himself hesitated. He did not aim at personal distinction, and he was uncertain if his success in the Diet might equal that he had met with in the press, and in the Comitât. He doubted lest his sphere of usefulness might not be curtailed, and that by incurring the jealous rivalry of his own friends, he might not injure the cause for which he had laboured during so many years.

Count Louis Batthyanyi overcame all these scruples and set aside every objection which presented itself; he threw the whole weight of his influence into the balance, sparing neither money* nor exertions to secure the victory to Kossuth; yet there was, at that time, no strong bond of sympathy between these two men.

* Direct bribery was not used in this instance by the Liberal party, but the money was expended (as has hitherto been customary in all elections) in treating the electors, and bringing them up to the poll.

Count Louis Batthyanyi was born in 1809, and lost his father in childhood; he entered the Austrian service at sixteen years of age, and while stationed in Italy devoted himself to literature and the fine arts; he quitted the army on attaining his majority, and from that time devoted himself to the study of politics and became a constant attendant on the Comitäts. His marriage with the Countess Antonia Zichy added a considerable fortune to his own, and he travelled through the East and a great part of Europe; on his return he divided his time between Vienna and his estates in Hungary, where he commenced his patriotic exertions by establishing a sugar manufactory, and by making large plantations of mulberry-trees. After 1835 he became almost exclusively engaged in politics, and endeavoured to follow in the steps of Széchenyi, though closely allied with the Liberal party; he applied himself especially to the study of the Hungarian language, and was the first Magnate who removed his winter residence from Vienna to Pesth; at the same time he did not lose favour with the more liberal members of the royal family, and continued to receive visits from the old Palatine Joseph up to the time of his death, and from the Arch-Duke Stephen. Ardent by nature and devotedly attached to Hungary, he was constant in his endeavours to preserve her independence; but though gifted with a generous and noble mind, he was not exempt from that laxity of private morals, and that want of an enlarged comprehension of human nature, which is almost inevitable in one belonging to any body of men set apart from their fellow men by great wealth, or the artificial circumstance of hereditary rank. He was by birth and sympathies a thorough aristocrat; where Kossuth treated public opinion with deference, Batthyanyi treated it with scorn; he lamented what he called his compatriot's weak concessions to the people, while Kossuth regretted the prejudices of birth and

the stubborn determination of will, which characterized the Count. In the associations where they had been colleagues, as well as in public affairs, they had differed on many points, so that highly as they esteemed one another it could scarcely be said their political views were alike, or that the connexion which existed between them could be called friendship; they were both, however, equally sincere in their patriotism; both had the same end in view, both were leaders of the same party. Batthyányi brought along with him a part of the high aristocracy, while Kossuth led the majority of the nation. It was to the honour of Louis Batthyányi, therefore, that, laying aside all private difference of opinion on minor points, he lent his efficient aid to the election of Kossuth.

In the meantime every effort was making on the other side; the government organ of the press, guided by Count Emil Dessweffy and E. Glatz, spared neither accusation nor invective against Kossuth. As no man with the slightest stigma on his honour could have a seat in the Diet, the long forgotten story of his youthful propensity for gambling was revived. When this failed, an endeavour was made to cause division in the party of the Opposition, by nominating Balla, a moderate Liberal as the Conservative candidate. When Balla consented to stand, he was not aware that he was to be opposed to Kossuth, but no sooner did he learn the true state of the case, than he offered to withdraw; not from timidity, but from respect to his rival. This was not, however, permitted. With Kossuth, the Liberals proposed as their other member for Pesth, Szentkirályi, the first Vice Ispráy of the County, and a former contributor to the Pesti Hírlap.

On the 17th October, the electors poured forth in crowds from all places, over a space of two hundred square miles, to the Comitát of Pesth. The liberal Magnates, some in their

splendid national costume, while others had assumed the dress of peasants, mounted upon magnificent horses, marched in front of the endless troops of Kossuth's adherents, who waved the banner of Hungary over their heads, and shouted patriotic songs, and words composed in his praise to the national air of the Rákoczy march. The opposite party, weak in numbers, and their songs drowned by the multitude of voices on the Liberal side, also advanced to the Hall of the Comität. From that morning until the evening of the following day, the electors continued to stream through the Hall, dropping their votes into the urn, which stood on a table at the door. The election was carried in favour of Kossuth by 2,948 against 1,314. Balla was the first to applaud the success of his rival, and that night Kossuth, Balla, and Szentkirálydy (the other successful candidate), paraded the streets of Pesth arm in arm.

CHAPTER X.

1847—48. A.T. 45—46.

November to March.

Review of the State of Parties in Hungary—Baron Joseph Eötvös—Interval between the Election and the Diet—Diet of 1847-48—Kossuth leader of the Opposition—Intrigues of Széchenyi—Szentkirálydy—Arch-Duke Stephen Palatine—The question of Taxation—Opposed by Széchenyi—Kossuth succeeds in a motion for obliging the "Nobles" to take their share in the Municipal Taxes—Further Reform of the Urbarium—Kossuth carries the measure through the Chamber of Deputies—The Abolition of the Avitizität—Neglect of the Government—Austria foment dissensions in Croatia and Tran-

sylvania—Kossuth opposed to Ultra measures in enforcing the Magyar language—Extracts from his speech on the Commercial interests of Hungary.

BEFORE entering upon the history of the important events of the Diet of 1847, it is necessary to take a general survey of the state of parties in Hungary at that period. The Conservatives were, for the most part, allies of the government. Széchenyi (who, in order to encounter Kossuth in the Diet, had sued for and obtained a seat in the Lower Chamber), with his small body of adherents, formed the centre. The factions into which the Liberals had begun to divide, favoured his views. Szentkirálydy was mortified to find himself eclipsed by the new member, and while some were alarmed lest Kossuth should not possess sufficient practical wisdom to assume the position of leader in the Diet, others equally feared that he might advocate too extreme measures, and thus ruin the cause. Széchenyi at once perceived and seized the advantage presented to him. Another party which had grown up in the country, led by Baron Joseph Eötvös,* was thoroughly imbued with the idea of centralization, derived from French theorists; like the Vienna party, they were adverse to the County institutions, because they looked upon them as the remains of feudalism, but instead of the paternal despotism aimed at by Austria, Eötvös advocated parliamentary government. He and his party went a step beyond Széchenyi; and proposed to efface the whole Constitution of Hungary, and to substitute a new political

* Baron Joseph Eötvös is the author of the *Village Notary*, a romance, which, while giving an exaggerated, or rather partial view of Hungarian life, is an interesting, and on the whole, faithful picture of the people it is intended to represent. Its object being to throw obloquy on the old political institutions of the country, some allowance must always be made for the peculiar bias of the author's mind.

fabric, not founded on written laws, but on the so-called law of nature. The party was chiefly composed of young men of letters, high-spirited and full of talent, but only too prone to discover the weak and faulty side of the provincial governments, while they were unable to appreciate their soundness in practice, and their salutary influence.* So utter was their contempt of electioneering contests, that they withdrew from parliamentary life altogether, and acted solely through the press. Szalay, the new Editor of the *Pesti Hírlap*, was under the entire guidance of Eötvös; war was therefore fiercely waged against the County institutions by these young men, in the very paper through which Kossuth had so earnestly contended for them. They protested that the spirit of the nineteenth century could no longer bear with these remains of the dark ages, and that they must yield their place to a parliament, whose members should be representatives not delegates of the people, and to a *strong central government* which should be empowered to regulate the whole affairs of the nation. The writings of this party met the views of the Reactionists, and Count Apponyi found himself supported by them in his attacks on the Comitäs, and in his attempt to impose Royal Administrators in the place of the Fő-Ispány.

In the interval of a few weeks which elapsed between the election and the meeting of the Diet, Kossuth was actively engaged, both in private society and in public meetings, by persuasion and by argument, gaining proselytes to the Opposition; their interest, he believed now to be the interest of his country, and the question whether Hungary was to be for ever subjected to the despotic will of Austria, her laws cancelled, and her Constitution abolished, or whether she was to maintain a free and independent existence, would be decided by their failure or success.

* See the Introduction to the *Village Notary*.

The Diet met on the 11th November, and was opened by the King in person, and on the 12th the Magnates and Deputies assembled in the great hall of the palace of the Archbishop of Gran, where Maria Theresa once appealed for aid to her faithful Hungarian subjects. All wore their splendid national costumes, glittering with jewels, and in the galleries were seated the Empress, the Arch-Dukes and Arch-Duchesses, besides a brilliant assemblage of ladies. Here the Royal propositions were read, among which the Diet was recommended to take into consideration "the Alimentionation of the troops stationed in Hungary; the co-ordination of the Royal free towns; the laws relating to the mortgages of manorial estates, and the urbanal laws;" while the more important subjects of the Croatian affairs, general taxation, liberty of the press, and those relating to the Hungarian language and nationality, were omitted.

On their return to their own Chamber, the Diet elected, by general acclamation, the Arch-Duke Stephen, Palatine. In spite of the exertions of the Administrators in the thirty-two Comitats where they had been forcibly inducted, the Opposition was in a decided majority, and Kossuth assumed the place of leader, formerly occupied by Deak and Klauzal. His courage, eloquence, and indefatigable zeal soon cast into shade even the brilliant qualities of his predecessors; his tone was moderate and conciliatory, while he took a firm and determined stand in defence of the ancient laws and Constitution of the land. A wider field was now opened before him, on which to pursue the course he had followed from the commencement of his career, and where he could advance great general principles with more freedom, and such measures as tended to establish them on a surer basis. Mentkíráldy had not only joined Széchenyi, but had arranged the plan of operations, and the day on which it was proposed to commence their attack upon Kossuth. It

was some time before the renegades could resolve who should take upon himself the obnoxious task of being the first to turn against their chosen leader. Szentkirályi at last summoned courage to throw off the mask; had he succeeded, the whole direction of the policy of the Diet of 1847-48 might have been changed: but before they could execute their design Kossuth had been warned; he threatened to lay their intrigues open to the public, upon which Szentkirályi withdrew, and suddenly quitted Presburg; and the coalition having lost courage, dissolved itself.

The Palatine was duly installed on the 15th of November, and the Diet proceeded to discuss the great questions of the day, which may be divided into three sections, as they severally related to the social, political, and national welfare of Hungary. The social questions demanded a remedy for internal grievances, and a settlement of the relations between the different classes of the people; the political, treated the whole system of administration, or the relations between the Government and the nation; the national questions related to the use of the Magyar language, and embraced all those subjects which elicited feelings of sympathy, or estrangement, among the various races of Hungary.

The demand for equal taxation was among the most important of the social questions which engaged the attention of the Diet. Although it had been omitted in the Royal Propositions, it had been so warmly agitated both by the press and in the Comitâts, that even those still adverse to it, did not now openly express their opinion, but took refuge behind Count Stephen Széchenyi, who continued to insist on his fund for internal improvements. He demanded three million florins for extraordinary expenses, and fearing if equal taxation were likewise proposed, that the "Nobles" would be less likely to consent to his measure, he moved

that the question should be postponed to a more convenient time. His object was simply to increase the revenue; the Conservatives would now have been happy to escape equal taxation by a voluntary subsidy, from which, besides acquiring some credit for generosity, they could have the power of refusing to repeat the grant for at least two succeeding Diets; whereas a system of equal taxation would have been a permanent burden from which they could never again hope to escape. Kossuth, however, could not silently allow this subterfuge to pass, as he considered that to establish a principle was greater gain than to obtain an immediate increase of revenue. A debate on the subject followed between the two leaders, and a motion of Kossuth was carried, by which the Liberals advanced at least one step, as by it the "Nobiles" were obliged to contribute their share to the Municipal Taxes (*Cassa Domestica*). The bill was sent up to the Chamber of Magnates, but on the 31st of January it was rejected and returned to the Lower Chamber. It was, however, accompanied with a message couched in such ambiguous terms, that Kossuth took advantage of their doubtful meaning to represent the rejection of the measure (which had been received with some strong tokens of disapprobation by the Deputies) as possibly implying that the Magnates desired to have a bill presented to them of a more comprehensive character. He therefore proposed that a mixed Committee from both Chambers should be appointed to draw up one, in which the principle accepted in the Diet, should be carried out in its full meaning.

The reform of the *Urbarium* had made some progress in the Diet of 1843-44, when the peasantry were permitted to acquire freehold property; and in December, 1847, Gabriel Lonyay (a large proprietor himself) proposed the further abolition of forced labour, rents, and dues; by the zeal and perseverance of Kossuth it passed the Lower Chamber by

37 votes against 13, and the new law obliged the landlord to accept a certain fixed sum when offered by the peasant for his redemption. Kossuth also moved and carried the abolition of the *Avitizität*, a law which affected the tenure of property; and he introduced a measure for the re-organization of the town Municipalities. The Magnates assented to these bills in their general signification, but reserved the consideration of details for some future opportunity. They were therefore held in suspense, and could not be passed into laws.

The attention of the Diet was, however, especially directed towards those questions which related to the conduct of the Government; the neglect in the execution of the laws, and the intrigues to sow dissension between Hungary and her provinces. The policy of Metternich laboured to destroy the Constitution, to convert an independent kingdom into an Austrian province by indirect means, and to undermine by stratagem what he could not annihilate by open force. He had found ready co-operators in the selfish and luxurious Magnates; and he followed the example of Maria Theresa and her successors, in keeping alive the jealousy between the privileged and unprivileged orders, taking advantage of every weak point to widen the breach. Dreading the influence of a free country like Hungary on the hereditary dominions of Austria, he had done every thing in his power by instituting the censorship, and by paid newspaper writers to prevent any mutual understanding between the two classes, while he carefully fostered the enmities of race and of religion, and placed the interests of the cities in rivalry with those of the agricultural districts. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the success of these intrigues than the influence of a man like Kossuth. Széchenyi, and the liberal Magnates, could be silenced by acquiescence in their schemes for material improvements, but one had now ap-

peared, who could neither be intimidated by persecution, nor blinded by flattery.

Austria still hoped to obtain her ends by means of Croatia and Transylvania, in which provinces she had sown and fomented discontent. The question of language was the apple of discord between Hungary and Croatia. Though Kossuth continued to advocate in the Diet, as he had formerly done in the Pesti Hirlap, and the Comität at Pesth, the employment of the Magyar language in all official intercourse, he was still opposed to its general use being forced upon the people. He observed, "That as most of the 'Nobles' were Magyars by birth, the unprivileged classes would gradually adopt the same language in common life, when they had once received the rights and privileges of the Hungarian Constitution." The question appeared to him one of minor importance, and he therefore seldom brought it forward, although, when the official use of the Hungarian language was discussed in the Diet, he always spoke in favour of the measure. But he most strenuously urged that the act which had been already passed in the preceding Diet, and had received the sanction of the King, should be duly executed; it had been evaded on the Military Borders, a fact which he had learned from actual experience, as he himself had been placed in arrest for four and twenty hours, when travelling on some business connected with the projected railroad to Fiume, because his Government passport was in the Hungarian language, and was not understood by the officials belonging to the Hungarian Border Guard.* Complaints of a similar nature

* Kossuth had, on this occasion, to pass the frontiers; no passports were ever required in Hungary, except during the time of the cholera, when, as a sanitary precaution, it was for a time made necessary to obtain permission to travel in the country. Soon after this precaution had ceased, a gentleman was stopped in a district or community of

were made by others, and it was asserted, that in one Comităt the Hungarian language had been expressly forbidden. While adhering to the spirit of the law, Kossuth moved for some modifications in the manner of its execution. One of the clauses contained the words, "All public instruction shall be exclusively in the Hungarian tongue." Desirable as he considered this to be, if possible, he thought it impracticable; and he therefore proposed that the clause should be understood solely to apply to the higher schools or colleges, and that in the elementary schools the Hungarian language should be taught, but not made a medium by which instruction should be given. This motion was carried; but the other proposals of the ultra Magyar party, advanced by the deputy, Joseph Vidos, found such general favour, that they were carried against Kossuth. Vidos demanded that the obligation to make use of the Hungarian language should also apply to naturalized foreigners, which passed, after a long debate on the subject. Kossuth vainly contended that more advantageous terms should be presented to those engaged in commerce; "The demands of industry," he maintained, "are a chief requisite in Hungary. The Legislature must not lose sight of this circumstance. If the country were in a condition to allow foreign powers to establish consulates, no particular inducement would be required to persuade manufacturers to settle here, as they would be contented to take up their abode among the cannibals, or in the desert of Sahara, if they could only live under the protection of a consul. The consumption of cotton alone in Hungary equals twenty-four million of florins, and yet we pay for the hundred weight one hundred

peasants, and asked for his passport. He produced it immediately, but was surprised by being told, that as passports were now contrary to law he could not proceed, for having one in his possession.

and ten florins more than if we purchased it from the English, who are carrying on a war with China, while our markets are unvisited. And why? Because no English flag waves here. We must endeavour to remedy this as far as possible, by an offer of advantageous terms. The right of settlement is not sufficient; a shorter time must also be fixed to obtain political rights; the proposed law mentions five years. But as long as industry does not receive the attention it deserves, as long as the increase of manufactories is not looked upon as a benefit to the country, foreign capital and foreign resources will not flow towards Hungary." He pleaded especially for Fiume, where Italian was the language of the people, and where restrictive laws would act to the disadvantage of Hungary herself. Even though the Magyar tongue should be enforced elsewhere as the medium of official communication, he considered an exception "should be made in favour of a maritime city whose vocation was to welcome all nations led thither by commerce."

CHAPTER XIII.

1847—1848.

November to March.

Transylvania—Counties of Hungary granted to the Princes of Transylvania—Restored to Hungary—Acts of the Diet—Neglect of the Government—Speech of Kossuth upon the conduct of the Government—Effect of his Speech—The Representation—Speech of Kossuth on the Representation—Amendment of Kossuth carried—Rejected by the Magnates—Kossuth urges the Nation should come to a distinct understanding with the Government—His new motion carried—Form of the Repre-

sentation — Royal Administrators — The subject to be avoided in the Representation — Opposed by Kossuth — His original proposition accepted — Carried in the House of Magnates.

THE question of Transylvania was analogous to that of Croatia, as both were separate provinces annexed for many centuries to Hungary, and whose amalgamation in language, laws, and rights, with the sister country, was necessary to form one united and powerful nation.

When Hungary was ruled by the Kings of the House of Arpád, and those of succeeding Dynasties, the border Counties of Krasna, Zarand, Szolnok, and Kövár, had belonged to her, but when the Hungarians elected the Austrian Hapsburg Dynasty, while Transylvania continued to be ruled by her native Princes, the border Counties were resigned to the Princes of Transylvania, but only for the lifetime of each Prince, with the understanding that they still formed a part of the kingdom of Hungary.* At the death of every Prince, the Counties reverted to Hungary, until after some new war they were restored, as a condition of peace. But when, in 1695,† Transylvania became subject to Austria, these compacts ceased; the Counties returned permanently to Hungary, and an act to that effect was passed into a law. In 1733, Charles III. granted these four Counties again to Transylvania, without consulting the Diet. The ensuing Diet, 1741,‡ protested against the act as illegal, and subsequent Diets finally succeeded in obtaining from Maria Theresa, Leopold II., and Francis I., a consent to the restitution of the disputed Counties. As the executive, however, lay in the Government, the act was never carried into effect; and in 1826, a new law passed the Diet, by which it was not only declared that the Counties were to be

* See p. 102.

† At the peace of Carlowitz. See p. 186.

restored to Hungary, but that they should from that time forth be considered to form a part of the kingdom, sending delegates to the Hungarian Diet, &c. &c.: the execution of the law was however still deferred.

In 1847, the Government was prepared to encounter the reproaches of the Opposition on this subject; the Conservatives, hoped to ward off the storm, by bringing the question forward themselves, and by informing the Diet of the success the Government had met with, in certain negotiations and measures which had been taken preparatory to enforcing the long neglected law. The statement however failed in its desired effect. It was upon this occasion, Kossuth made his most brilliant speech prior to March, 1848. His object was not to persuade, but to convince, and he laid aside all the flowers of oratory, to address the understanding, rather than the imagination, of his audience.

"A simple statement of facts is the most convincing rhetoric;" he commenced. "As good works are of more avail before God, than the best turned phrase in prayer, as the blood which is shed cries louder to Heaven than the tumultuary noise of curses, so do the remnants of the mangled law speak more distinctly than any utterance of complaint. I will simply lay before you true and unadorned facts; but with the fixed determination that if my hopes are betrayed, come what will, I shall be ready to adopt the most extreme measures permitted by law, rather than suffer the Hungarian laws, the dignity of the Hungarian legislature, and the just exercise of the judicial power to be trodden under foot amidst cowardly lamentations. In the year 1741 the grandfathers of our fathers ordered the re-annexation of the separated provinces; ninety-five years elapsed, and a new law was required to give apparent security for its performance—but only *apparent*; eleven years have since passed away, and the law is not yet executed; the

tactics of the Government have taken a new direction, and if we do not prevent it, ninety-five more years may be recorded in our history, to hold up to our shame into what a depth of weakness Hungary has sunk, into such a depth of weakness, that her laws will become a dead letter, her commands an empty sound. The act of 1836 is divided into two sections; the first, relates to the representation of the Counties in the Diet, and yet three Diets have passed, and Kővár remains unsummoned;* and though the remaining Counties have been summoned, they have sent no representatives, because they justly doubt the real intention of the Government to execute the law. The second section of the act, relates to their re-incorporation into the Administration, which the Government has not only neglected, but now half excuses on the plea of resistance on the part of Transylvania If we take a just view of this transaction, we shall find that the Government has committed nine offences against the State; first, that that portion of the act relating to the restoration of the Counties, the administrative, the execution of which was assigned to the Government, has been left unfulfilled; secondly, the remainder of the act, which, had it not been directly hindered, and which without the interference of Government would have been executed, namely, deputies having been sent by the Counties to the Diet, was in part prevented, and in part complicated, to attain the same end; thirdly, the judicial power acting by the authority of the Diet, and the ordinance of law has been degraded into an object of mockery; fourthly, the solemn promise of the King, so often reiterated, has been compromised; fifthly, those who have agitated against the law and the royal ordinance, have been overloaded with favours in the name of our common

* To send delegates to the Diet.

Sovereign, while on the other hand, the faithful adherents of law and of the royal ordinance are not even protected against the most illegal decrees; sixthly, the right of the independent existence of the Hungarian Government has been yielded and made subordinate to that of Transylvania; seventhly, an attempt has been made artfully to weaken the sympathy for Hungary in the said Counties, while every facility has been afforded to spread antipathies; eighthly in defiance of the Acts of 1715, 1723, 1727, 1741, 1751, 1792, and 1836, also in defiance of seven laws, passed in the course of 120 years, of five royal oaths, of innumerable royal resolutions, in defiance of Hungary's undoubted right, and the clear diplomatic history of the transaction, the Government dares to plead as an excuse for not executing the law of re-annexation, the resistance of Transylvania; ninthly, an endeavour has been made by new enactments, to evade the execution of a law sanctioned by the royal oath; a proceeding which has for its object to stifle the yet extant sympathy of the Counties."

After demonstrating by certain incontrovertible data that the Counties had never belonged to Transylvania, but only been temporarily annexed, the orator continued. "Although Transylvania can claim no legal right to interfere in the solution of this question, his Majesty has on his own authority, or as it is expressed in the royal edict, '*from his paternal kindness*,' desired the Transylvanian Diet in the year 1837, to depute members, who should, in conjunction with the Hungarian Commissioners, regulate the affairs relating to the re-annexation. This summons, which was in itself almost a violation of the rights of Hungary, was disregarded, and no Commissioners were sent from Transylvania. Thereupon, his Majesty declared in a message on the 20th February, 1839, that since Transylvania had not availed herself of the gracious

summons of the King, by virtue of the royal privilege, he was compelled no more to summon Transylvania to co-operate in this work, and after the re-annexation had been completed, the irrevocable will of his Majesty is that the Diet of Transylvania shall have no power to interfere. And yet, notwithstanding this decree, what do we hear? that in the name of that very Sovereign who has spoken so decisively his irrevocable will concerning the re-annexation of the Counties, an appeal is made to the resistance of Transylvania, as a sufficient obstacle to claim the attention of the House." Kossuth passed from this topic to that which related to these Counties being unrepresented in the Diet, and especially the case of the County of Kővár, which had always had a seat and vote in the Hungarian Diet, until after the Act of re-annexation had passed; he cited one instance among others, of the direct violation of the law on the part of the Government, in the conduct and subsequent fate of the Fő-Ispány of Szolnok: the King sent by him the royal summons to the Comitát to elect their members, but he abstained from delivering the message; the Comitát upon this expressed their desire to send a deputy to the approaching Hungarian Diet, but the Fő-Ispány used measures of coercion to prevent them exercising their lawful rights; the "Nobiles" appealed to the Diet, and the Diet referred the matter to the Government, demanding that the Fő-Ispány should be forced to respect the laws, but the only result of their remonstrance was that the transgressor was rewarded for his illegal conduct by being made a Privy Counsellor. To remove all possibility of apology for the conduct of the Government, Kossuth quoted from a document of the Transylvanian Chancellor, Alexander Nepcsa, of the year 1839, in which the Fő-Ispány was exhorted so to act that no Deputy might be sent from his Comitát to the Hungarian Diet." . . . "If,"

continued Kossuth, "Transylvania perceives that although the King of Hungary and the Prince of Transylvania are one and the same person, yet the Transylvanian Government agitates against the Hungarian, and those who support this conduct do not only escape punishment, but are rewarded, whilst the Hungarian Government for eleven years has allowed her laws to be trampled upon, and has done nothing to prevent it, although one energetic protest might have ended the affair are not the Transylvanian Counties justified in their doubt of the real intention of Government for their re-annexation? And if so, is it not natural, that they should abstain from sending Deputies to the Diet, only to expose themselves to the persecutions to which every one is subject who pays respect to the laws? And after all this, we are desired, in the royal message to observe, that a general antipathy against the re-annexation exists in the Counties themselves. I ask if it exists, who called it forth? But it does not exist; as a clear proof of which, I joyfully hail the petition of those Transylvanian patriots who, neither terrified by the angry looks of those in power, nor by the fanaticism of their countrymen, anxiously stretch forth their hands towards that law of their sister nation which has been sanctioned by their common sovereign, which will heal the wounds of a century, wounds which have not ceased to bleed in fortune and misfortune, and like the torments of conscience cannot be cured even by the wonder working balsam of time." Kossuth particularly called the attention of the Diet to the fact that this petition had the signatures of people of the highest respectability in Transylvania, and not of the mere populace. "Who," he asked, "could in future trust in the laws of the Magyars, if they could betray these men? Who could place his hopes in the sanctity of law if their hopes were rendered vain, and they returned to their homes, to be the objects of persecution:

Yes, indeed, of persecution! for such is the condition of Transylvania, that respect for the laws of the Hungarian nation and for the King, is there a crime; it is a crime to look with affection upon Hungary; with them indeed the nation must despair lest right should no longer be protected or law held sacred. But if it has come to this, then let us rather close the doors of this chamber, for our legislative power, by which we propose to establish the happiness and fame of our nation, is become a breath, a plaything. But no, I confide in my nation, I confide in our King's attachment to the laws; for I am convinced if he were informed of the real state of the case, his lawful command would at once break the thread of court intrigues as of a spider's web."

Kossuth concluded by proposing that past injuries should be forgotten, and that the Diet should only demand satisfaction for the present and security for the future. The instantaneous impression made by this speech was at that time unexampled in the records of the Chamber of Deputies. When it ended, Anton Barbaczy, the leader of the Government party, rose, and in a few words expressed the concurrence of himself and of his friends in the statements of Kossuth, and the proposition was accordingly carried unanimously.

Having thus given a sketch of several of the principal topics which occupied the Diet, we must proceed to that in which the Liberal and Conservative party struggled with most determination, each to maintain their own particular views. The debate on the Representation to be laid before the King commenced on the 22nd November. It had never been a necessary form in the Hungarian Parliament to discuss the speech from the Throne, but a list of the *gravamina*, or grievances complained of, and which had been entrusted to the delegates from their several Comitâts, was

at once sent up to the King. To this Representation had been added, in the two or three Diets which preceded that of 1847, a vote of thanks for the concessions promised in the speech, and it had become fashionable to call it "The Address." In the Representation now read to the Lower Chamber, the first paragraphs contained merely expressions of thanks, and passed without a dissentient voice; the sixteenth and seventeenth demanded that his Majesty should summon an annual Diet to meet at Pesth, the capital of Hungary, instead of Presburg; and further stated, that the Diet was willing to pass such measures as would conduce to reconcile the conflicting interests of Hungary and Austria. The seven concluding paragraphs related to the particular grievances of which the nation complained, especially that of the Royal Administrators.

The Conservatives objected to the form of the Representation, and proposed that it should be confined to a simple expression of thanks for the King's consent to that act which decreed the Hungarian language should be used in place of the Latin, as well as for other liberal measures. Kossuth, on the other hand, observed this might be accepted as a sign that the nation was satisfied with what had already been done; whereas, greater and more vital reforms were needed, which the whole system of the present Government was opposed to; therefore, while returning thanks to the King, he maintained that the thanks should be qualified by such statements as would plainly evince that the Royal concessions were considered insufficient.

"The time for the expression of empty thanks," he observed, "is past; preceding Diets have already done that. I represent a Comitât which demands reforms, and insists upon our conduct being so directed as to obtain them. . . . A single glance at the relations of Europe proves that the future of the other States of Austria is connected with

the free Constitutional prosperity of Hungary. But under the present system this Constitutional prosperity is impossible, for the Act of 1790* is still a dead letter, and the Government of Hungary is any thing but independent and constitutional. This arises from the Government of Constitutional Hungary being connected with that of Absolutistic Austria, which can be as little for the well-being of Hungary as for that of the Hereditary Dominions, whose interests, as well as those of the Monarch, would be promoted by a change from a despotic to a constitutional form. Therefore, besides thanks for the Royal concessions, let the Address contain the opinion of the Diet upon their insufficiency ; let it point out how impossible it is to satisfy the nation by such half measures, as long as the whole tendency of the policy of Government continues adverse to the rights and Constitution of Hungary ; as an example of which, the case of the Administrators may be adduced, and not alone a temporary measure, such as the displacement of these officers be urged upon the Government, but an entire abolition of the whole system."

Barbaczy and Somsich, on the Conservative side, protested against the proposed amendment, and moved again for a simple address of thanks, while Széchenyi suggested that, without entering into any detail of grievances, a general desire for reform might be expressed. The debate lasted five days, at the end of which time Kossuth's amendment was carried, and sent up to the Magnates ; it was there supported by Nicolas Esterházy, Karolyi, Zichy, and many bearing names of distinction, but, nevertheless, it was

* Art. 10. Hungary is a free and independent kingdom, in no way subordinate to any other people or kingdom, and is to be governed by its lawfully crowned king, not according to the customs of the other hereditary dominions, but according to its own rights and customs. Act of 1790 confirmed by the Emperor King Leopold II.

finally rejected, and sent back to the Lower Chamber, with the advice that the Deputies should confine themselves to a vote of thanks, or allude to their grievances in general terms, and postpone the question of the annual meetings of the Diet to a separate address, or only mention grievances of long standing, and omit that of the Royal Administrators.

A stormy debate followed in the Lower House, in which Kossuth urged the necessity of coming to a distinct understanding with the Government. He pointed out the fallacy of trusting to promises, when there existed a party in the Chamber of Magnates, who stood in the way of every liberal measure reaching the throne, and when they failed in their endeavours, the same end was effected by the dissolution of the Diet itself. It was the more necessary to be on the alert in an hour when the Government was in the very act of violating the constitutional rights of the nation by the appointment of Royal Administrators throughout the country. "The representation proposed by the Deputies," he continued, "was couched in loyal terms, and only stated that certain reforms were necessary which could not be carried through without the removal of impediments which they petitioned should be done by the Government itself. "But the Magnates have rejected this, and advised that we should renew the subject of ancient grievances over which we were willing to throw a veil of oblivion; they force us to open old wounds, be it so. The address in its present form cannot be sent up, since it has undergone a complete transformation in their hands; let it be laid aside, we will, at some future opportunity express our thanks to the King for the substitution of the Hungarian language for the Latin, for his confirmation of our choice of a Palatine, and for the few liberal measures granted to us; we must for the present confine ourselves to those grievances indicated by the Magnates, and as soon as we can agree

upon the form of the Address, I shall move for a special representation to be drawn up in relation to the Act of 1790, of the negligence of the Executive Power in not carrying out the Act of 1836, &c."

The debate again lasted three days, at the end of which time the Representation in its original form was laid aside, and directions were given that another should be drawn up in its stead.

On the 30th of January the Palatine read to the Diet a document he had received from Vienna, entitled, "Royal Rescript on those measures adopted since the sitting of the last Diet in relation to Comitatal Administration." In this Rescript the Government appeared to doubt the wisdom of the appointment of the Royal Administrators. It ran thus, "Deeply moved by the anxiety and excitement occasioned in the Comitats by the appointment of Administrators, the just pain of the Government is increased by the apprehension and misunderstanding which appear to exercise an injurious influence on the present Diet;" to remove which, although convinced of the legality of the act; "we are resolved that the nomination of Administrators shall be reserved for exceptional cases, and to maintain in full vigour the ancient Comitatal administrative system, as well as the dignity of the Fő-Ispány; and as soon as the unusual circumstances which make the appointment of Royal Administrators necessary shall disappear, to restore the Fő-Ispánys to the full exercise of their legitimate functions."

The Royal Rescript neither satisfied the Conservatives nor the Liberals; the former thought it too great a concession to public opinion, and the latter doubted whether the promises it contained would be fulfilled: the party of the Opposition had long ceased to place any confidence in the Government, yet there were some who argued the

Rescript ought to be met as a conciliatory step from the throne, and should remove all apprehensions of further usurpations on the part of the Sovereign. Kossuth vainly pointed to the fact that the new appointments were a national grievance, and anti-constitutional; even the manifest falsehood contained in the Royal Rescript itself, where it asserted the Administrators were only appointed in exceptional cases, whereas those officials had been imposed on thirty-two out of the fifty Comitâts of Hungary, did not prevent a motion in its favour being carried by a majority of twenty-four against twenty-three. The utmost confusion followed in the House, and Kossuth waited until it had subsided before he spoke again. He then inquired how it was, since thirty Comitâts had sent instructions to their delegates, that they considered the system of Administrators a national grievance, that several honourable delegates could reconcile their votes with their consciences. "You have conquered," he proceeded, "and you rejoice in your victory, but be assured, that after this victory strife and not peace will be the watchword of the Diet," &c. Some now acknowledged their error, upon which Szemere, one of the leaders of the Liberal party, entered into an analysis of the Rescript, by which he proved that it contained no definite promise of amendment.

On the 10th February, Kossuth and several of the delegates met at the house of Szemere, and drew up a Representation which was the next day read and printed. On the 12th it was carried by a majority of thirteen in the Lower Chamber, and on the 29th it was finally accepted in the Chamber of Magnates.

CHAPTER XII.

March, 1848.

Effect of the French Revolution of February on Hungary—Austrian Notes—Speech of Kossuth on the State of the Finances—On the Necessity of Constitutional forms of Government being established throughout the Austrian Dominions—On a Responsible Ministry being provided for Hungary—and on an entire change of the policy of Austria throughout the Empire—Kossuth moves that a National form of Government shall be appointed in Hungary, independent of foreign influence, and Constitutional Governments be granted to all the Austrian Dominions—The motion unanimously carried in the Chamber of Deputies—The Magnates determine to wait the return of the Palatine from Vienna—Viennese Revolution—Kossuth's speech circulated in Vienna—Constitution granted to the Viennese—Arrival of the Hungarian Deputation at Vienna—Their reception by the King—Kossuth addresses the Viennese people—Return of the Deputation to Presburg—Enthusiastic reception by the people—Kossuth proclaims Count Louis Batthyanyi the first responsible Hungarian Minister.

THE news of the French Revolution of February reached Presburg in the beginning of March, and caused a general panic. The state of the Austrian finances had for many years been known to be on the verge of bankruptcy, and it was feared that affairs might be hurried to a crisis by the stormy aspect of the political world.

Should the rule of Metternich be brought to a sudden termination, the sword could alone enable Austria to with-

stand the convulsion which was shaking all Europe, and civil war must plunge the country into the same financial difficulties from which it had suffered in 1811 and 1816. An immediate distrust of Austrian bank notes was the consequence of the present alarm; a general run upon the banks in the towns followed, and paper money was refused, even in the villages.

In the Diet, the Conservative Deputy for Raab gave notice, that he meant to bring forward a motion to inquire into the real value of the Austrian notes, and although several very weighty matters were still pending, the Opposition readily consented to defer every other question for the consideration of one of such immediate importance. He accordingly moved on the 3rd March, as the financial calamities which had visited Hungary during the first French Revolution, might yet be fresh in the memories of all present, and as recent events in France had already affected the currency, and occasioned just apprehensions for the future, that in order to satisfy and tranquillize the minds of the people, the King should be petitioned to afford information on the state of the bank, or rather with regard to the security of the bank notes now in circulation.

Kossuth rose to reply to this motion, and while expressing his full conviction of its importance, dwelt, as was his custom, on the root from which the evil proceeded, rather than on the particular grievance which was then before the public, and which itself being an effect and not a cause, could only be averted or substantially remedied, by a radical reform of the whole system. The influence of the speech he made on this occasion, was not confined to Hungary; it extended throughout Austria, and fanned into a blaze the spark of liberty, which had been first kindled by the revolution in Paris.

"I hail with gratitude," he commenced, "the motion of

the Deputy for Raab ; but, as I am fully convinced that the present extraordinary circumstances make it necessary that we should not confine our remarks to special grievances, I will only use the opportunity presented me, to exhort the honourable members, who are aware of the enormous responsibility imposed upon them, to allow their policy to rise to a level with the age in which we live. I will not enter into details concerning the affairs of the bank, as I am of opinion, that the apprehension about the value of the notes, followed by the motion of the Deputy for Raab will suffice to inform the government, that the evil consequences will be incalculable, if confidence be not immediately restored in an institution like that of the bank, where the interests of private individuals are so deeply involved. But it can neither be restored by denying the fact, nor by concealment, but only by laying the whole state of affairs unreservedly before the public. I consider it a pledge that the Government has adopted the same view, that this very morning several Deputies received official notices from the directors of the bank relating to its condition, which demonstrate there is a security for 214 million of bank notes, and over and above, property to the amount of thirty million in the stocks. I am willing to believe that the Government feels the necessity for their own interest, as it is their undoubted duty, officially to publish this satisfactory demonstration, and it would be a great error to postpone it on pretence that the bank is a private undertaking for which the Government is not responsible ; the public is well aware of the relations in which the Government stands with the bank, and that the power to issue notes is nothing less than an integral part of the financial system of the monarchy.

“ Another reason why I do not enter further into an analysis of these relations, is because I know that in so far as the state of the stocks serves as a thermometer to the

state of the bank, the bank was, in 1830, in a much worse condition than now; and because I believe there is no ground for apprehension of immediate danger, but that the danger can only exist if the Viennese Government obstinately adhere to the course of policy hitherto followed, and if the State whose finances even in a normal condition present a continued deficit, should be forced to daily augmenting sacrifices, which must inevitably lead to another bankruptcy.

"If an entire change were to take place in the line of policy adopted by the Government, we need be under no anxiety respecting the bank; for this reason, I am desirous to direct the attention of the honourable members to those relations, by which the growth of the public danger may be arrested; for I am convinced, that aware as we are of the influence the Austrian finances exercise over our incomes and property, we cannot rest contented with a mere communication of the state of the bank, which is in itself only a matter of detail, a sequence of a whole; we must demand the budget of the Hungarian receipts and expenditures, and the Constitutional administration of the finances; in a word, an independent Hungarian Board of Finance, without which, the foreign power which rules over us, will plunge us into endless embarrassment.

"If, on the other hand, we have a responsible Ministry, we can provide for the splendour of the throne, for the necessities of our country, for the fulfilment of our lawful duties, and secure the property of our fellow citizens against all fluctuations which may threaten them. I will therefore only add, on the subject of the bank, it is my belief that the necessary means to tranquillize the public mind have already been taken, since, as a preliminary step, the public have been officially enlightened with regard to the relations of the bank, and that in all parts of the country measures

have been adopted, where required, to redeem the notes. Should the Government wisely change the tendency of its policy, I trust that confidence will return; confidence which is not only necessary for *our* interest, but for that of the reigning dynasty. But in order to point out the remedy, I must go back to the source of the evil.

“When in the very commencement of this Diet, the Address to the Throne was moved, I considered it my duty to enter into an analysis of the relations of our internal affairs, as well as of those which have arisen between us and the Imperial House of Austria, in consequence of the Pragmatic Sanction. I expressed my opinion that the future constitutional existence of our country could only be secured by our King surrounding himself with constitutional forms of government throughout his dominions. I maintained that our country would never be secure of obtaining the reforms desired by the nation, that the tendency of the policy of the Government could never be constitutional, the result of its acts could never be favourable to the freedom of the nation, so long as the system of administration throughout the whole Empire, whose Sovereign is the same as ours, stands in direct opposition to moderate Constitutionalism; and so long as that Council of State which guides the affairs of the general Empire, besides administering the internal affairs of our country, possesses an undue influence, which, if not contrary to law, is anti-constitutional in its elements, its composition, and its tendency.

“Further, I maintained that where our interests and those of the confederated peoples of the Empire meet each other, our independence, our freedom, and our well-being can only be secure upon the basis of one common constituency. I took a general survey of the lamentable origin and development of the bureaucratic system of government

at Vienna. I reminded you how the fabric of its enervated power was reared upon the subjugated liberties of our neighbours, and as I recounted the consequences of this fatal machinery of Government, and looked into the book of life in which events reveal the history of the future, I pronounced, in the earnestness of truth, and fidelity to the reigning family, that he who should reform the system of the Government on a constitutional basis, and establish the Throne upon the liberty of the people, would be the second founder of the House of Hapsburg.

“ Since I pronounced those words, thrones sustained by state-craft have fallen, and nations who, but a few months back, could not have dreamed of so near a future, have recovered their freedom. *We*, for the space of three months, have uninterruptedly rolled the stone of Sisyphus, and my soul is clouded with consuming care, lamenting that we should remain thus immoveable. With a bleeding heart I behold how much noble power, how much real talent is wasted in thankless labour, reminding me of the torments of the treadmill.

“ The suffocating vapour of a heavy curse hangs over us, and out of the leaden chambers of the Cabinet of Vienna a consuming wind sweeps by, which benumbs our nerves, and represses our spirits’ flight. But if hitherto, I have only feared, because I perceived the influence of the Viennese system had caused an irreparable injury to our country, because constitutional progress is insecure, and because, during three centuries, the contrast between the Absolutistic Government of the Empire and the constitutional existence of Hungary has never been adjusted, and never can be adjusted without the resignation of one or the other principle; my fears are not *now* for this alone; I grieve to think that the stagnant bureaucratic policy, which is incorporated into the State Councils of Vienna, leading the

Empire on to destruction, should also compromise the future existence of our beloved Dynasty; and that our country, which requires all its powers and all its resources for its own prosperity, should be led to make sacrifices which oppress the people and to endure an endless series of calamities. Such to me is the present aspect of affairs; and as such, I consider it my bounden duty to call the attention of the honourable members to the evils which threaten our country. We, to whom the nation has confided the task to protect her present and secure her future existence; we may not wait with closed eyes until our country is inundated with an ocean of calamities; our task is to go forth to meet the evil, and should we hesitate in the performance of this duty, we shall be responsible to God, to the world, and to our own consciences, for the misfortune which will be the consequence of our delay. When political changes occur, and the time for a peaceable adjustment has passed away, when the die is irrevocably cast, and we have neglected to send forth the free and loyal voice of the representatives of the people, when matters have become so entangled, that we have only to choose between repudiation and a sacrifice whose end God alone can foresee, then will repentance come too late, and the Omnipotent Himself cannot restore moments wasted in inaction.

“I, at least, if as a patriot I also must share in this tardy repentance, will not fail in my responsibility as a Delegate. Let me remind the honourable members of the period of the French war. What had Hungary to do with the internal affairs of the French people? Our Diet was assembled in the year 1790, but our ancestors did not interest themselves in any thing beyond our international politics; and what was the result? That our poor country had for five and twenty years to bear the punishment for an error committed without our sanction, although at our expense,

that the blood of our people flowed in streams, and that our possessions and our property were cast into the whirlpool. In spite of these enormous sacrifices, our fathers saw the Royal House doomed to fly before the victorious arms of the West: this city itself, the usual seat of our legislature, in the hands of the conqueror, and amidst the destruction of the empire, the lamentable financial embarrassments caused by the state bankruptcies involved our unhappy though innocent country. While suffering under this great calamity we could not console ourselves with the reflection, that we had done all in our power to avert the coming danger while there was yet time. God forbid, that History should pass a like sentence on this Diet; God forbid, that we should reproach ourselves with having neglected to ward off the danger we saw menacing the throne of our King, menacing our country; God forbid, that we should have on our consciences the remembrance of a duty unfulfilled. I call upon the honourable members to raise their policy to a level with passing events; let us derive strength from our responsibility as citizens, which imposes upon us the duty of fitting our resolution to the greatness of the occasion. I do not dwell upon circumstances which have occurred within the Empire and abroad, as they are universally known; but I express my decided conviction, and maintain, that the true cause of the interruption of the tranquillity of the Empire, and of the evil consequences which ensue from it, lies in the Viennese system of Government; and it is with the apprehension of worse consequences that I assert my belief, that the continuance of this perverse policy, opposed to the interests of the people, and to the just claims of rational liberty, is as much as to compromise the future existence of the Dynasty. Artificially contrived political systems can maintain themselves for a considerable period, as there is a long road between the patient endurance of a people and

their despair. But there are political systems, which for the very reason that they have been long maintained have not gained but rather lost power, and at last the moment arrives when it is dangerous to continue them; for their long life has ripened them for death. We may share in its death, but we cannot ward it off; I know it is hard for an old system as well as for an old man to part with the idea of a long life; I know that it is painful to see that by which it is constituted falling away piecemeal; but when the foundations are weak, its fall is inevitable, and we, to whom the fate of a nation is confided, must not yield to human weakness. The people are eternal, and we desire that the fatherland of this people should also be eternal; eternal the splendour of that Dynasty which reigns over us. The men of the past will in a few short days descend into the grave, but the inheritance of a splendid throne awaits the hopeful heir of the House of Hapsburg, the Arch-Duke Francis Joseph, who already, at his first entrance into life, has won the affections of the nation,* a nation which will derive its strength from freedom, but whose ancient splendour cannot be sustained by the unhappy machinery of Viennese policy. The Dynasty must therefore choose between their own prosperity and the maintenance of a system of Government covered with the rust of ages; and I fear, that if the loyal declaration of the people does not step between, the Viennese policy will seek a short respite for its own existence, at the expense of the Dynasty, in a new edition of the deceased Holy Alliance.

* The present Emperor Francis Joseph, nephew of the Emperor Ferdinand. He had a Hungarian tutor, when very young, and spoke the Hungarian language with ease. When about fourteen years of age, he visited Pesth, and in a meeting of the Academy of Science, addressed the members in a speech, in praise of Hungary, from which circumstance, and his youth, the people augured better days for Hungary during his reign.

"They who were wont to forget nothing, yet too gladly forget it was not the Holy Alliance which saved the throne, but the enthusiastic devotion of the people, an enthusiasm founded on the promise of freedom, a promise which has not been redeemed.

"A Dynasty which is founded upon the freedom of the people will always excite enthusiasm, for a faithful heart can only belong to a free man. He who is oppressed will serve, because he cannot do otherwise. Bureaucracies can excite no enthusiasm; a people will give their blood and their life for a beloved Dynasty, but not a sparrow will fall to support the policy of an oppressive Government. Finally, if there is a man in Vienna who, for the sake of retaining power a few days longer, desires an alliance with the despotic powers of Europe at the expense of the Dynasty, let him remember there are powers which are more dangerous as friends than as enemies.

"Yes, honourable members, it is my conviction that the future existence of the Dynasty is bound up with the brotherhood of the different peoples belonging to the empire, and this brotherhood between nationalities can only be cemented by constitutional forms of government which will awaken the feeling of one family. The bayonet is a wretched medium by which to unite the parts of the empire. In the motion which I bring forward I have the interests of the Dynasty at heart; and God be thanked that they are consistent with those of my country. Who can think without indignation of the sacrifice made by the people who yet suffer a moral and material injury! if the Diet be dissolved, and the people do not receive what they may with justice expect from this legislative assembly, who then would venture to take upon himself the responsibility of all the consequences which might ensue! who would venture to maintain that the enthusiastic expressions of

ready self-sacrifice within the walls of this House would find an echo without among the people? The honourable members must feel the force of present circumstances; therefore, I will not any longer dwell upon them but pass at once to the motion which is suggested to my lips, by my fidelity to the Dynasty and by my duty and responsibility to the people.* But first, I must observe that, although I shall allude to several questions which have come before this Diet, I do not mention such grievances as the non-annexation of the Counties, religious inequality, and the important relations of Croatia, because I purpose only to speak on subjects of such vital importance that if (as I with reason expect) they are granted, they will bring along with them the guarantee for a remedy of all other grievances," &c.

At the conclusion of this speech, Kossuth read the sketch of a Representation to be laid by the Diet before the King, conceived in the same spirit as the words he had just spoken; it was here asserted that "the development of constitutional life, and of such laws as were essential to the moral and material welfare of the nation could only attain to existence and reality when their execution was entrusted to a national Government, independent of all foreign influence; such alone being the responsible expression of the principles of the Constitutional majority; therefore the Diet demanded, as a fundamental condition and substantial guarantee for all reforms, the total change of the present system of administration and the substitution of a responsible Hungarian ministry." Further it asserted, "that his Majesty would also find the surest means to avoid all possible disasters, and to place his faithful subjects on a friendly footing with one another, besides cementing the various provinces of the empire most securely by surrounding the throne with those constitutional forms in all parts of his dominions which the necessities of the age now rendered indispensable."

Even the Conservatives were moved to enthusiasm by Kossuth's oration, and the sarcastic vein of Széchenyi was for a moment stopped; acclamations resounded from all sides of the House, and the motion was carried amidst deafening cheers. The next morning it was sent up to the Magnates, but there Count Mailáth requested them to wait the return of the Palatine, who had left Presburg for Vienna soon after the arrival of the news of the French Revolution; many of the Magnates had accompanied him, and those who remained approved of Count Mailáth's ingenious device to evade giving a decided answer to the Deputies; they feared to offend them by rejecting the address, which, if they had accepted, they might have incurred the displeasure of their absent colleagues. In spite of Count Louis Batthyanyi's remonstrances, the motion of Mailáth was carried.

On the 3th of March Kossuth moved, that as in the absence of the Palatine and of a considerable number of Magnates, the ordinary sittings of the Upper Chamber were interrupted, the Representation should no longer be delayed on that account, but sent up to the King from the Deputies alone: he feared lest before the *gravamina*, or list of grievances, could reach Ferdinand, the Conservative Magnates then at Vienna, would obtain advantages to their party prejudicial to the liberties of Hungary. His proposition was however rejected, and another resolved upon, by which a remonstrance was to be sent, to the Upper Chamber, urging the Magnates to reconsider the Representation. Events, however, took place on the 13th of March at Vienna, which gave the Deputies an assurance that their just demands would no longer meet with opposition.

When the first news of the Revolution of Paris reached Vienna, the funds fell thirty per cent.; and while the people assembled in the streets and cafés to discuss the political events of the day, the Imperial family met in council to deliberate on their own course of procedure. The Vien-

nese did not hesitate to express their sympathy with the French people, and while, as a testimony of their animosity to the present system of government, the medical students of the University refused to accept appointments as surgeons in the Austrian army, a petition was sent up to the Government by authors and publishers entreating that the censorship of the press should be modified. A majority of the Royal family, taking alarm at the threatening aspect of affairs, proposed to conciliate the Viennese by yielding to their desires. But the Arch-Duke Louis, who had promised his brother the Emperor Francis, to conduct the government of the Empire on despotic principles, refused to grant the smallest concession, and he was supported in his views by Metternich.* The meeting of the Diet of Lower Austria had been fixed for the 13th of March, and petitions were preparing to be presented by the Members of the Diet to the Emperor. On the 12th a petition was read in the University, which had been drawn up by one of the Professors, soliciting an extension of political freedom. Many thousand copies of Kossuth's speech had been circulated in the city, which was thus ready to receive it with enthusiasm, and on the 13th a large body of the students of the University marched in procession past the House of Assembly, and the State Chancery, followed by nearly the whole population of Vienna, demanding freedom of the press and constitutional guarantees. When they reached the residence of Metternich, one of the students read aloud the speech of Kossuth under his windows, which was responded to with thunders of applause from the people. The Arch-Duke Albert now rode into the midst of them, and advised them to disperse, but they refused to return home until their petition had been presented to the Emperor, and they had learned the result.

* See page 158.

The "Land Marshal" soon afterwards admitted a deputation of the students into the "Land Haus," who, however, not being received as they expected, and alarmed for their personal safety, appeared at the windows of the building and called to their comrades, that they had been betrayed. The young men without, rushed to their rescue, and the street became a scene of disorder and confusion. The Arch-Duke immediately called out the troops, and ordered them to fire upon the unarmed people. His orders were only partially obeyed; most of the soldiers fired in the air, and only one student fell dead and about a dozen of the people were wounded. But the mob was now roused to fury, and nearly succeeded in dragging the Arch-Duke himself from his horse; more troops were called out, and several men were killed and wounded.

Prince Metternich proposed to put the city under martial law, and give the command to Prince Windischgratz, but the Emperor would not consent, and at length himself gave orders that the firing should cease, and that the soldiers should be withdrawn, though ordered to positions where they could command the city. In the night an attack was made upon the hated secret police, and the militia joining the people and the students, furnished them with the arms they required. In the afternoon of the next day, the Rector of the University took up a petition to the Emperor from the students, to represent the state of the city, and to petition that he would exert his power to stop further bloodshed. As a preliminary, he was requested at once to dismiss Prince Metternich and the Chief of the Police. Metternich, who was present, immediately tendered his resignation, which was as immediately accepted by the Emperor who expressed his displeasure at troops having been employed against the people. That night the city was illuminated, and though some acts of violence were committed by the

mob in the suburbs, the citizens prevented their occurrence within the town itself, by forming themselves into armed bands who patrolled the streets all night. The next morning all the regular troops were ordered to leave Vienna, the citizens were enlisted into a National Guard for the preservation of peace, and a proclamation from the Emperor appeared, giving the students and the people permission to arm for their own protection and that of the city. The censorship of the press was next abolished, and the Emperor promised to convene an assembly of the representatives of his German, Slavonic, and Lombardo-Venetian subjects on the 3rd of July following. The people were still dissatisfied, though two of their demands—one for a budget, or that the disbursements of the revenue should be made public, and the other for a responsible Ministry—were granted; but the Constitution, the ultimate object of their wishes, was not yet even alluded to. The Emperor drove through the streets in an open carriage on the afternoon of the 15th of March, and was received with loud acclamations by the people, who took the horses from his carriage and drew it themselves to the Palace; on his return Ferdinand issued another proclamation, by which Deputies were summoned from every province of Austria to frame a Constitution for the Empire.

* In the mean time the Palatine had returned to Presburg, and Kossuth proposed a deputation should be sent to him from the Lower Chamber, praying him to insist upon the Magnates taking the Representation into immediate consideration. He was himself named to lead the deputation, and soon returned with a favourable answer. The Representation, therefore, was that day carried by acclamation in both Chambers, together with Liberty of the Press, Trial by Jury, and Annual Diets, to be held at Pesth. In the evening the youths of Presburg walked in a procession,

hearing torches, in honour of Kossuth, who presented to them Count Louis Batthyanyi as the probable future Prime Minister of Hungary.

Instead of transmitting the Representation through the Hungarian Chancery (as had been customary), a Deputation set out on the morning of the 15th of March, for Vienna. It consisted of eighty members of the Diet, led by the Palatine Arch-Duke Stephen, and followed by about two hundred and fifty persons. Two steam boats conveyed them to Vienna, which they reached that afternoon, when the Viennese were rejoicing over their promised Constitution. The Hungarians were received at the landing place by thousands, who came out to meet them on the first news of their arrival, and accompanied them to the hotel where Kossuth took up his residence. The numbers increased every instant, and repeated cheers welcomed the "Deliverer," the name by which the Hungarian patriot was greeted. Handkerchiefs waved from the windows, and flowers and garlands were thrown to him by the enthusiastic populace.

The next morning the Deputation, with their leader, the Palatine, waited on the King. Ferdinand received them graciously, and replied to their petition in the Hungarian language, to the effect that he had at heart the interests of the peoples who lived under his sceptre, and that his fondest wish was to fulfil the desires of the Hungarian nation. After half an hour's audience, in which their requests were granted, the procession left the Castle, and returned to the hotel; the whole way thither was lined with the National Guards, and Kossuth and Prince Esterházy were raised in the arms of the populace, and borne in triumph amidst loud cheers. Arrived at their hotel, the Rákoczy march was played before the door, while the clashing of swords beat time to the music, and with one voice the mul-

titude called on Kossuth to address them. He advanced to the window, and speaking first in the Hungarian, afterwards in the German language, acquainted the people that the Deputation was satisfied with the answer of the King, and that their demands had been granted; the Palatine had been named Viceroy and Plenipotentiary of the Hungarian kingdom, and Count Louis Batthyanyi had been ordered to form a responsible Ministry for Hungary. He expressed the joy which this intelligence would give his fellow citizens, who, in the short space of a few days, had gained that which had once appeared hopeless, and how they would also rejoice in the Constitution which had been promised to the Hereditary States of Austria. He concluded by exhorting his audience to remain tranquil, but to a tranquillity joined with power; "for it was not enough to have gained a jewel, it must also be preserved."

The speech of Kossuth, on the 3rd of March, had roused the latent aspirations of the Viennese after political and Constitutional liberty; and such was his popularity and influence with this careless and pleasure-seeking people, that the fate of the Hapsburg Dynasty and of the Austrian Empire was at that hour in his hands. His almost unexampled influence over the Viennese, excited and new to liberty, might have tempted a man of inferior virtue or wisdom to a less moderate use of power. His country had been oppressed for three centuries under the Kings of the House of Hapsburg, but neither Kossuth nor the Hungarian people were adverse to the Monarchy, but only opposed to the vicious system of administration of those by whom the Sovereign was surrounded. He relied on the power of right, and on his nation, which he believed sufficiently strong to assert its own independence, and at a time, when nothing he chose to ask could have been denied, he was contented with claiming no more than that for which

the Reformers had striven during so many years ; a responsible Hungarian Ministry, and the confirmation of the ancient Constitutional liberty of Hungary.

On the 17th the Deputation returned to Presburg. Many hours before the arrival of the steamers, the rising ground near the landing place was covered by a dense mass of men and women, children, and old men, of all classes and conditions, in festal attire. The new National Guard lined the streets along which the procession was to pass and guns were fired from the castle, which were answered by the shouts of the multitude as the vessels approached, adorned with the national colours. The Deputation, led by Louis Batthyanyi and Kossuth, and followed by the people, went on foot to a hotel in the city, where the very trees which grew in the public walks, arrayed in the first green of spring, seemed to welcome the arrival of the Patriots. Batthyanyi and Kossuth presented themselves on the balcony of the hotel, surrounded by the noblest of the land. Loud cheers from below proclaimed the sympathy of the people; and when Kossuth announced to them that Count Louis Batthyanyi was appointed the first Hungarian Minister, their joy surpassed all bounds. The wish of the nation was fulfilled, and Hungary was, for the future, no longer to be governed from Vienna, but from her own capital.*

* By the laws of Hungary, no foreigner could hold office in the Hungarian administration. No act of the Government of Hungary, no communication from the King to the Diet, had ever been countersigned by an Austrian ministry. A ministry responsible to the Parliament of Austria, and not responsible to the Parliament of Hungary, could not administer the Government of the latter country : and the same ministry could not be responsible to both Parliaments. If Hungary was not to be incorporated with Austria, it was necessary that she should have a separate ministry, responsible only to her own Diet. An act, providing such a ministry, was passed unanimously in both houses of the Diet, with the full concurrence of the Arch-Duke Palatine.—From *Blackwood's Magazine*, May, 1849.

CHAPTER XIII.

March, 1848.

Kossuth upholds the cause of law, and of the existing authorities—He desires the present Diet should dissolve itself—Laws passed before the dissolution of the Diet—Entire Reform of the Urbarium—Indemnification of the "Nobles"—Kossuth opposes the admission of Proletarians into the National Guard—He maintains the rights of the Crown—Endeavours to protect individuals from suffering in the enactment of new laws for the public benefit—Improved system of representation in the towns—Limit of the power of the Ministry—The Cabinet of Batthyanyi—Kossuth Minister of Finance—The Italian Revolution—Republican Demonstration in Pesth—Commission appointed by the Palatine—The Hungarian Diet demands the Royal sanction to the new laws—Batthyanyi and Deak at Vienna—Report that the Royal concessions would be withdrawn—Excitement in Hungary—Kossuth endeavours to appease the people—Conduct of the Palatine—His private letter to the King.

IN this hour of triumph, when Kossuth was worshipped by the people, and looked up to by the first men in the country, he never deviated from the even path of justice and moderation which he had marked out for himself. From the balcony of the hotel at Presburg, he called upon the people to acknowledge the debt of gratitude they owed the Palatine for his courageous and patriotic conduct, and exhorted them to receive him on the following day when he was expected from Vienna, in a manner worthy of his dis-

tinguished merit. Kossuth was resolved to exert all his influence at this critical period, to repress violent and unconstitutional measures, and he was even willing to lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency, and to risk his popularity, rather than endanger the cause of true order and liberty. Although he gave full credit to the young men of Pesth for their conduct and spirit, he would not sanction their pretending to dictate to the Diet; and when, on the 20th March, they sent up a deputation to demand that certain laws should be passed, which had been approved of in the Comität of Pesth, he replied to them with so much severity that he might almost have been deemed uncourteous; he acquainted them that the right to propose or to invalidate the laws lay in the Diet alone, and that whosoever ventured to usurp this right to himself, was guilty of an illegal and arbitrary act. The demands of the deputation were therefore laid aside.

During the four past months the influence of Kossuth had daily increased in the Diet, and it might have been supposed that he would have desired to continue to act with men, many of whom he had gained over to his own opinions. The Cabinet of Vienna also dreaded the result of a new election, which, in all probability, would return a larger number of Radical members, and the Hungarian people themselves could not desire to displace the long tried champions of their cause, those to whom they were now doubly indebted by their recent victories. Yet even under these circumstances, Kossuth proposed that the Diet should dissolve itself.

On the 18th of March he moved, that this Diet, which only represented the class of "Nobles," should declare itself incompetent, and should yield to a new and real representation of the people. A declaration to this effect was accordingly passed, and sent down to all parts of the king-

dom. Kossuth further moved, that before they separated, and without delay, the following questions should be taken into consideration: "1st. The limit of the powers, and the form of Government of the responsible Ministry of Hungary; 2ndly, The system of representation by which the next Diet, which was to be held at Pesth, should be constituted; 3rdly, That one common taxation should be levied on all the inhabitants of the land; 4thly, The entire cessation of the Urbarial relations, with an indemnification to be assigned to the present proprietors of the soil; 5thly, The immediate organization of a National Guard to preserve internal peace and the freedom of the country; and, 6thly, The abolition of the Censorship, by which to secure a free Press, and trial by Jury." "When these subjects," concluded Kossuth, "have been considered, our duty as legislators in the present Diet will have ended, and we ought to resign our places to a representation based on the will of the majority of the people." By the enactment of these laws alone the union of the nation could be rendered complete, and the intrigues of Austria to weaken Hungary, by sowing dissensions between the unprivileged and privileged classes, be counteracted.

The long desired reform of the Urbarium in its full extent and real meaning was at last carried. One of the Deputies proposed that the question of the indemnification of the landlords should be postponed to some other occasion, but Kossuth opposed this motion, as unjust towards the minority, whose interests were at all events to be temporarily sacrificed. He also successfully opposed two schemes; one for rendering the National Guards more democratic, by admitting the Proletarians* of small cities

* Proletarians,—all those who are without a fixed capital or occupation.

within their ranks, and the other to curtail the prerogative of the Crown, and only permit the dissolution of the Diet on certain prescribed conditions: when this last proposition was made, Kossuth resolutely maintained the ancient right of the sovereign to adjourn, close, and dissolve the Diet.

Fearing that individuals might suffer in the first introduction of the new laws and regulations which had just passed, he proposed, when the reform of the Borough Municipalities came before the Diet, that if those who were then in authority were displaced, they should at any rate be provided with pensions, and that even the members of the extinct Hungarian Chancery should be admitted into the state council at Pesth. The Deputies from the towns, who had almost been without a vote (only sixteen among the one hundred and four members being permitted a voice) were granted, on a motion from Kossuth, each a separate vote, equal to the electors in the Comitâts. He was fully aware that this act of justice would in all likelihood be prejudicial to his personal influence, as the Deputies from the towns were reputed to entertain anti-national, or at the best only semi-liberal sentiments; yet, at his suggestion, the same rights were extended to a still more dangerous class of persons, the Deputies from the Chapters of Cathedrals, who had hitherto been hostile to all his measures. He had never yet stooped to expediency, nor would he on this occasion alter his conduct, although he might have alleged the common excuse of statesmen and bureaucrats, when the claims of justice are evaded on the pretext of serving the ends of justice. He was desirous to avoid all sudden change, in which the majority might be benefited at the expense of the minority, and therefore when carrying through his long cherished scheme of the reform of the Urbarium, he provided that the distinctive appellations of "Nobiles" and plebeians should only cease with the present generation.

Kossuth likewise proposed that the powers of the ministry, who were just entering into office, should be restrained within certain limits, such as would render their authority compatible with the free exercise of self-government in the people: "Nothing," he asserted, "is more prejudicial to freedom, than too much interference on the part of a government."

On the 23rd, the bill which confirmed the ministry passed the Chamber of Magnates. The Cabinet formed by Batthyanyi consisted of the most moderate men of the liberal party, Louis Kossuth was appointed Minister of Finance, Francis Deak, Minister of Justice; Gabriel Klauzal, Minister of Commerce; Count Stephen Széchenyi, Minister of Public Works; Baron Josef Eötvös, Minister of Public Instruction; General Lazár Mészáros, Minister of War; Bertalan Szemere, Minister of the Interior; and Prince Paul Esterházy, Minister of Foreign Affairs. General Mészáros was a gallant and experienced officer, and a better soldier than statesman; Bertalan Szemere, one of the Deputies in the Diet, had been for many years a leading man among the Liberals, and was reputed to be a strict Calvinist; he was persevering and laborious, reserved yet ambitious, and though personally little liked, was considered by Batthyanyi a necessary adjunct in his Cabinet, as the representative of an influential sect and party in Hungary. Prince Paul Esterházy, formerly Austrian ambassador to Great Britain, was selected, for his high family and position, to remain about the person of the King, and was entrusted with the management of the international concerns between Hungary and the Austrian provinces.

It was with much difficulty that Batthyanyi persuaded Kossuth to form one of the Ministry; he was not ambitious of office, and he knew that he differed on several points from Batthyanyi, and from those who composed the rest

of his Cabinet; but the Premier considered his presence to be indispensable, and that no Cabinet could exist in Hungary from which he was excluded. Kossuth was not as credulous as many of his colleagues, of the fair promises they had received; he was well aware that the Viennese Ministers would not regard with favourable eyes the efforts of the Liberal party to maintain order and independence; and therefore, while earnestly cherishing the hope of peace, he thought it expedient to be prepared to resist external aggression; he could not believe that a few weeks would change the whole policy of Austria, and urged that immediate preparations should be made to put the country in a state of defence. Batthyanyi, on the contrary, could see no reason for distrust. With views narrowed by an aristocratic education, he could never comprehend the true character of the people who confided in him, and he feared democracy more than the tyranny of despots.

The Italian revolution had broken out in Lombardy on the 18th March; General Radetzky was expelled from Milan on the 22nd, and Count Zichy was forced to surrender Venice on the 28rd.

In the mean time a republican demonstration had taken place in Pesth, headed by Moritz Perczel, a gentleman of good family, who had served in the Austrian army as a cadet while a boy, and when the Polish revolution of 1830 broke out, had deserted, and joined the insurgent Poles: he was betrayed, and taken prisoner, and would have been tried by a court martial, had not consideration for his youth (as he was only eighteen years of age), and the interest of his friends, succeeded in commuting his punishment into dismissal from the army. Honest though imprudent, and more generous than wise, he had adopted ultra-Radical views, and now became leader of a Republican faction. Crowds assembled in the streets of Pesth to discuss political

questions, especially that of the emancipation of the Jews, and whether they should be admitted into the National Guard, a proposal which was advocated by the Hungarian, but opposed by the German population. The principal inhabitants of the town, alarmed by the excited state of the people, deputed Francis Pulszky, a gentleman who had already taken an active part in political life, to be the bearer of a petition to Presburg, informing Count Louis Batthyanyi of the state of affairs. In consequence of his representation, the Palatine took measures for the maintenance of order, and as the ministry could not enter into office until the king had sanctioned the new laws, which could only take place at the close of the Diet, he instituted a committee of Public Safety with civil and military authority, for the security of the country. The commission consisted of Klauzal, Szemere, Pulszky, and Paul Nyáry, the Vice Ispány of the County of Pesth.

On the 23rd, after Batthyanyi had announced the new Ministry in the Chamber of Magnates, he hastened to Vienna to demand the royal sanction, as well as the King's consent to the laws which had just passed in the Diet. The Palatine and Deak followed, and were joined by Prince Esterhazy. A report in the mean time, gained ground in Pesth, that they had met with unexpected difficulties, and that there was even some idea that the concessions of the 17th of March would be withdrawn. The excitement, therefore, continued to increase, and the more so as no information arrived from Batthyanyi and Deak of the success of their mission. Kossuth endeavoured to appease the populace, by putting as favourable a construction as possible on the telegraphic despatches, though, in the Diet, he denounced with indignation the intrigues carried on by the court party at Vienna. *

On the 24th of March, the Palatine, who was with Bat-

thyanyi and Deak, wrote a private letter to the Emperor, which he did not even communicate to the Ministers, but which, some months later, was found in the Viennese archives, and published; the contents fully justified the fears and anticipations of Kossuth. Though sincerely attached to Hungary, the land of his birth, the Arch-Duke Stephen wanted firmness, courage, and strength of character. He knew the Court, and the jealousy with which his conduct was regarded, and wavered between his fears of losing popularity in Hungary, and of forfeiting the confidence of his sovereign, or rather of those by whom Ferdinand was surrounded. The letter of the Palatine, though written at a time when Kossuth, Batthyanyi, and their colleagues had but just expressed their gratitude for his patriotic exertions, ran as follows :*

“YOUR MAJESTY,

“The state of Hungary is at this moment so critical, that the most violent outbreak is to be daily expected: anarchy reigns in Pesth. The authorities are displaced from their sphere of action by a committee of public safety;† and whilst the council of the lieutenancy, under the strong protection of Count Zichy, maintains, at least in appearance, its authority, the board of exchequer is almost null. The Nobles also, have risen in masses to secure rights, *de facto*.

“In this anomalous and critical state of things, every one looks to the immediate formation of a responsible ministry for their preservation.

“Although we consider this to be a misfortune, we must put

* This letter is copied with a few verbal alterations, from the translation in the Memoirs of a Hungarian lady, vol. ii. p. 96. The account of the state of Pesth was greatly exaggerated by the Palatine.

† Appointed by the Palatine himself.

the question in this form ; Which is the least misfortune ? I shall now endeavour to lay before you in a few words, three measures by which alone I hope to be able to obtain any result in Hungary. The first would be, to withdraw the whole armed force from the country, and leave it a prey to total devastation ; to be a passive spectator of the disturbances, and attempts of incendiaries, as well as of the struggles between the Nobles and peasants ; the second would be to enter into negotiations with Count Batthyányi, concerning the laws to be proposed, and to save every thing that can be saved. He is at present the hero of the day, and if we delay longer, his star likewise might wane. But we must know beforehand, what is to be done, in case he should be dissatisfied and resign ; lastly, the third measure would be to recall the Palatine, and send a Royal Commissary to Presburg, invested with extraordinary powers, and accompanied by a large military force, who, after dissolving the Diet, shall proceed to Pesth, and carry on the Government with an iron hand, as long as circumstances shall permit.

“ I myself shrink from the first measure ; it is immoral, and it is perhaps unbecoming in a Government to desert those subjects of whom a part, at least, are well disposed, and to allow them to fall a sacrifice to all the barbarities of an insurrection ; besides, it would have a most prejudicial effect in the other provinces from the example given to the ungoverned, uncultivated masses. The second measure, on the contrary, is a good one ; and although it has, at the first moment, the appearance of a separation, nevertheless, for the present period, it is the only measure by which this province can be preserved, supposing always that the gentlemen now to be appointed are able to exercise full influence over the internal defence, which cannot be ascertained beforehand. In a more favourable juncture much of this may be

* changed which now appears calculated to occasion a separation.

“I do not know whether anything might be gained by negotiations with Batthyányi and Deak,* but I know that the negotiation can only be successful through them; for if matters come to a discussion at Presburg, everything is to be apprehended. With regard to this, however, I take the liberty as a faithful servant of the state to call your Majesty's attention to a circumstance which is of great importance; what will take place should the negotiations prove unsuccessful and Batthyányi be ready to risk everything and resign his office? I consider it to be my duty to observe that, without exaggerating the state of affairs, we ought, in such an event, to be prepared to oppose the demonstration of the young men of Presburg and of a part of the Nobles, which will probably take place, with an armed force along the Danube and on the road between Presburg and Pesth. In this case the third measure alone would remain, and supposing the means for its execution to be there, it would have to be carried out with all expedition.

“But here certain questions arise. (a) Is there not a want of sufficient money? consequently, is it possible to send a large military force to Hungary, by which I understand at least forty or fifty thousand men. (b) Is this force near at hand, and ready for immediate action? Further; (c) is a commissary to be found who is willing and able to undertake the office? And, lastly (d), is it not doubtful whether the measure would answer the proposed end? Will not a greater force be required in Galicia and Italy?

“If a favourable reply can be given to these queries, which I am myself unable to answer in my position; I have nothing further to remark; supposing that a compromise is attempted with Count Batthyányi, and that moreover the

* Batthyányi and Deak being at Vienna at the time.

opinion is taken of the great officers of the realm, who, in any case, must be summoned to Vienna; I frankly confess that, in the present state of affairs, I pronounce in favour of the second measure, and I do not doubt that the high officials (though I have not yet consulted them) would be of the same opinion; I have only ascertained the views of the Chief Justice Mailáth.

"If, however, your Majesty, according to your wisdom should consider the first or third measure more fitting, your Majesty will doubtless issue your commands in conformity with the existing laws and the usage hitherto observed, and inform me whether I am for the present to remain at Vienna, or whether I may depart in any other direction.

"STEPHEN."

"24th March, 1848."

CHAPTER XIV.

1848.

March, April, May.

Arrival of the Royal Message in Presburg—Batthyani appeals to the Palatine, who promises to intercede with the King—Republican demonstrations at Pesth—The King yields—The Palatine returns with a second Message from the King—Kossuth returns thanks to the Palatine—The King dissolves the Diet in person—Speech from the throne—The Ministry adjourn to Pesth—Francis Pulszky, Under Secretary of State, in Vienna—His early life—Batthyani as a Minister—Kossuth's health fails—He retires into the country—Is employed on Financial matters—Anecdote of his domestic life.

ON the 29th of March, the Palatine returned to Presburg,

bearing a royal message, couched in the language of the old Hungarian Chancery, which it proposed to restore; it decreed that the revenue of Hungary should in future be paid into the Austrian exchequer, and that all matters appertaining to the Hungarian tariff, coinage, and commerce should be subject to the Viennese authorities; finally, that the military force of Hungary should be subordinate to the Viennese Council of War, thus rendering the Hungarian Ministers of Finance and of War merely nominal, while the real power would remain with the Cabinet of Vienna. This message caused the greatest dissatisfaction, and all the printed copies which could be found were publicly burned.

Batthyanyi, ignorant of the secret proceedings of the Palatine, appealed to him to urge upon the King the recall of this obnoxious measure, and subjoined that, if this request were refused, he and his colleagues would resign. The Palatine not only promised to exert his influence at Court in their favour, but even to make his own continuance in office a condition of compliance; Széchenyi in the Lower Chamber spoke with energy in condemnation of the Message, and Kossuth, though he said little, expressed the determination of the Liberals not to yield. The alarm occasioned by the continuation of the Republican Demonstration at Pesth, also probably assisted the arguments of the Palatine, and hastened the measures of the Court party, who at length permitted the King to give a favourable answer to his demands.

On the 31st of March the Arch-Duke returned with the repeal of the Royal Message, which was that day read in the Diet; all was granted which had been demanded, but the manner and style of the address sufficiently evinced the disinclination of the Court. Not only were the Ultra-Radicals still dissatisfied, but even Deak could not

repress the observation, that the concession was only a verbal form, to which the nation itself must impart life. On the 1st of April Kossuth returned thanks to the Palatine in the name of the Diet, for the exertions he had made to preserve the concessions of March. The few remaining days passed apparently in perfect harmony with the Cabinet of Vienna. The King himself came to Presburg on the 11th of April to dissolve the Diet in person, and in his speech from the throne assured "his faithful Hungarian people, that he wished them all happiness from his heart, as he found his happiness in theirs."

The substance of the resolutions passed in this Diet, and confirmed by the King, was as follows: That the executive power should be exercised through the ministry alone; that the Palatine, in the absence of the King should be invested with all royal power, excepting the appointments of the dignitaries of the church, officers of the army, the high Barons of the Kingdom, and the disposal of the army when out of Hungary; that every member of the Cabinet should be responsible for his official acts, and liable to impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies, and to be tried by a committee from the Chamber of Magnates; that the sessions of the Diet be held at Pesth, and the laws sanctioned during the session by the King; that perfect equality of rights as well as of public burdens should be established among all the people of Hungary, without distinction of class, race, and denomination; that the franchise should be extended to every man possessing property to the value of three hundred florins, or an income of one hundred, to every one who had received a diploma in a university, and every artisan who employed an apprentice; that with the concurrence of both countries, Hungary and Transylvania, and their Diets, should be incorporated; that the number of representatives sent by Croatia to the Diet should be increased from three

to eighteen, and the internal institutions of that province remain the same as before; that the military frontiers of Hungary, or border troops, should be placed under the authority of the Hungarian Minister of War.*

* On the 14th of April the Ministry having been confirmed in their office, were received with festivities and rejoicings into Pesth, and commenced their labours in the capital of Hungary; Esterhazy in Vienna, was assisted by Francis Pulszky, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, being superior in knowledge and abilities to his chief, was entrusted with their principal management. He was the son of a gentleman of an old Protestant family, and was born in 1814, at Eperies, in the County of Saros. His mother was the daughter of Charles Fejeváry, the celebrated collector of Hungarian documents, which he presented to the National Library of Pesth. As Pulszky in early life was led to the study of archæology, and possessed an independent fortune, he visited Italy as soon as he had completed his education, and resided there four years. Though only eighteen years of age, he was chosen a corresponding Member of the Archæological Institute of Rome, and received an offer from the Austrian Ambassador there to be attached to the embassy. In 1834 he attended the sittings of the Diet at Presburg as a Juratis, or Student of Law, and in 1835, he, with Vukovic† and Lovassy, established the Presburg Casino, or debating club, for which Lovassy paid so dearly. Here he formed the friendships of Kôlcsey, the poet, who died in 1839, of Deak, and of Kossuth. In 1836 he travelled in Germany, France, and England, and thus escaped the arrests which took place at that time among the youths of the Casino. He returned to Hungary in 1837, and published a description of England, giving a very

* See Austria in 1848-49, by W. H. Stiles. Vol. ii. p. 55.

† Afterwards Minister of Justice under Kossuth.

favourable picture of the country, which obtained a wide circulation in Hungary, at a time when the reputation of England stood high, as the type of a free constitutional monarchy. He was elected by the Conservative party, in his native County of Saros, their Deputy to the Diet of 1837, but took a decided part against the Government for the condemnation of Wesselenyi, Kossuth, Lovassy, and Lapsansky. Subsequently, he was upon a committee with Deak, Klauzal, Bezéredy, Szentkiraldy, &c., appointed to examine into the state of the Commercial Code, and was also member of another committee for the Codification of the Criminal Law.* At the close of the Diet he returned home, and was appointed Director of the Protestant College, as his ancestors had been before him. In 1841, he went to Heidelberg to gain a more thorough acquaintance with the subject of Criminal Law, and on his return was again placed upon the committee. About this time he became one of the principal writers in the "Pesti Hirláp," and was engaged in the controversy carried on by Széchenyi, Kossuth, and Dessyeffy. Intimately acquainted with Széchenyi, from whom he had received his first lessons in political life, his views had, however, latterly assimilated with those of Kossuth, for whom he formed a warm and lasting friendship. When appointed by the Palatine on the Committee of Public Safety at Pesth, he strongly supported the measure for the emancipation of the Jews. When a riot took place at Stuhlweissenburg, a

* The Committee consisted of Chief Justice Mailáth, Count Joseph Teleky, Governor of Transylvania, Francis Deak, Gabriel Klauzal, Stephen Bezéredy, Francis Pulszky, &c., &c. It was proposed to abolish the punishment of death, but the majority maintained it by a vote of 23 against 18. The Criminal Code drawn up by this Committee was submitted to Professor Mittermayer, of Heidelberg, Speaker to the Baden Diet, and one of the first legal authorities of Germany, and was pronounced by him to be the most complete and perfect code in existence.

few miles from the capital, Pulszky was sent to suppress it. He was advised to take the military with him, but refused, and succeeded in dispersing the rioters without resorting to violence. His name, therefore, was already well known in Hungary, when he was sent to Vienna to act under an incapable chief.

Unfortunately for Hungary, Batthyanyi, whose merits and accomplishments, both of mind and person, had deservedly won for him the confidence of the whole nation, did not possess sufficient genius as a statesman, to guide the helm in so difficult a crisis of affairs. The victory of his own party was so unexpected, that he could scarcely comprehend his position. The storm which had swept over all Europe, seemed to him to have cleared the atmosphere; he trusted that the old system of diplomacy had been replaced by open and honourable conduct in political matters, and that Princes had suddenly been transformed into friends of the people; he believed that men who had hitherto acted with selfishness and duplicity were now impelled by motives as pure and patriotic as his own; and ever ready to give credence to the fair promises he received, his countenance was radiant with joy each time when he returned from his frequent journeys to Vienna bearing some message favourable to Hungary. His suspicions were the less easily aroused, as his chief intercourse was with Ferdinand himself, who, conscientious but weak in intellect, was as much the dupe of those around him as the Hungarian Minister. Riots, which took place in various parts of the kingdom, owing to the recent emancipation of a peasantry who had been too long kept in thralldom, made the presence of military necessary, and as the whole number of regular troops in Hungary did not exceed eighteen thousand men, the Ministry thought it advisable to apply for assistance. Repeated applications were there-

fore made to Vienna by Batthyanyi, which however proved fruitless.

Kossuth waited patiently, in the expectation that the eyes of his colleagues would at length be opened to the truths which he alone at that time perceived. His unceasing labours had begun to affect his health, and his physician prescribed for him a temporary retirement from public business; he accordingly left Pesth, hoping to derive benefit from the pure air of the neighbouring mountains. But even there he allowed himself no rest, for his time was spent in examining into the state of the finances, and preparing for renewed exertions on his return.

He found everything in confusion, but such was the success of his labours, that before the 1st of May, he was ready to commence operations. The war tax had hitherto been wholly at the disposition of the war council at Vienna, and the profits derived from the mines and from the post-office, which alone produced an annual income of nearly 200,000 florins, had been received into the Austrian exchequer. Kossuth determined that the revenues derived from each particular tax should be received by the Minister of the department to which it specially belonged; thus the revenue derived from the mines was to be received by the Minister of Finance, that from the post-office by the Minister of Commerce, &c., &c. He was anxious above all things that Hungarian money should not be expended on objects foreign to Hungary. While he assured the people in a proclamation on the 24th of May, of the security of the Austrian bank notes, repeating what he had said in his speech of the 3rd of March, he would not permit the coin in the public treasury of Hungary to be used in exchange, but had already, soon after his return to Pesth, applied to the National Bank of Vienna to provide coin for the redemption of its own notes, and demanded that before the 15th or 20th of April,

1,250,000 florins in silver should be sent to the National Bank of Hungary; from whence a portion of the sum should be distributed to the various parts of the country, where the notes were required to be redeemed. The chief labours of Kossuth, as Minister of Finance, were directed towards the mining interests. On the 15th of May, he summoned the directors of the mining districts, as well as the agents of private mining establishments to a conference with him at Pesth, in order to take their advice on the best manner to improve the mode of working the mines, and to secure the general interests as well as those of private individuals engaged in them. He sent a commissioner into that part of the country to take charge of the gold and silver belonging to the Exchequer, to place it under a responsible guarantee, and to make arrangements for its coinage. By the 8th of July, he was able to issue the first Hungarian coins in thalers, florins, and zwanzigers, and to have them conveyed from Kremnitz to Pesth. From the haste in which they were at first coined, they received the old Austrian impression till Hungarian dies were provided. Kossuth was equally diligent in his preparations for the issue of paper money. The Hungarian treasury was almost empty, and a large increase of expenditure was expected. The Viennese Bank offered a loan of twelve-and-a-half millions of florins, without interest: Kossuth refused the offer, because its acceptance would have obliged him to confirm the privilege by which the Viennese Bank had the sole power to issue notes in Hungary until the year 1866, and he had already made arrangements for the issue of Hungarian bank notes. On the 24th of May, he surprised the country with the information that, with the consent of the Palatine, he had given orders for one and two florin notes to the amount of sixty millions of florins, and that in six weeks' time they would be in circulation. The capital which was destined to serve as

a basis for these notes, was derived from the ample domains of the State, or Crown lands. The notes were thus guaranteed by the State treasury. Their fabrication and circulation was confided to the Commercial Bank of Pesth, under the control of the authorities of the Treasury, whose duty it was to watch that the bank should not issue notes exceeding sixty millions of florins, and that the sum in silver and gold coin kept in readiness should stand, in proportion to the value of notes issued, as two-and-a-half to one, or as two to five; so that if the bank had issued fifty millions of florins in notes, there should be twenty millions of florins in silver and gold in the coffers, and when the whole sixty millions were in circulation, it was provided that there should be twenty-four millions in gold and silver in the bank.

These Notes were called in derision by the Austrian Government the "Kossuth Notes," a name which the Hungarian people adopted from a different motive. While thus occupied with his Ministerial labours, Kossuth almost denied himself necessary rest; but his placidity of temper and gentleness of disposition never forsook him in the relations of domestic life. An anecdote is told of him at this period, that one day having spent the whole of the previous night in writing, and having retired to snatch a short interval of rest, he found on his return that the large pile of papers which had occupied him during so many hours had disappeared. On inquiry being made, an old servant of the family, acknowledged that, supposing them to be rubbish, he had used them to light the fires. Kossuth bid the man not distress himself, as he could write them over again, and sat down with an unruffled temper to recommence his work.

CHAPTER XV.

May, June, July, 1848.

The Court—Latour Viennese Minister of War—Return of Kossuth to Pesth—Croatia—Insurrection of the Serbs—Necessity for military preparations—Baron Josef Jellachich—His life—The Emperor proclaims him a rebel—Troops and fortresses placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Ministers—Latour sends artillery and ammunition to Jellachich—Exchange of the Italian and Hungarian soldiers—Manifesto of Jellachich—He invites the Slavacks of Hungary to join his standard—They refuse—Kossuth's Hirláppja (Kossuth's paper)—The King invited to Pesth—The Diet opened in July—Speech from the throne—The President of the Diet announces the intimation of the Minister of Finance to bring forward a motion respecting the defences of the country—Opposed by the Ultra-Radicals—The Italian question—Debate on the proposed motion of the Minister of Finance—Kossuth summoned to defend the cause of Ministers.

THE Arch-Duke Louis had been obliged to leave Vienna in May, and those immediately about the person of Ferdinand (the Camarilla, or backstairs Cabinet as they were called) seized on the reins of Government. They placed no confidence, in the Ministers, who were denied access to the Sovereign, and it was only through a Lady of the Bed-chamber they were on the 16th of May apprized that Ferdinand had been secretly conveyed to Insprück. The ancient loyalty of the Hungarians induced the Diet to send a deputation to him immediately on hearing of his flight

from Vienna, and entreat him to take up his residence in Buda Pesth.

Count Latour was in May appointed Austrian Minister of War, and the rest of the Cabinet was composed of Wessenberg, Pillersdorf, Kraus, Dobblhof, Baumgarten and Sommaruga. The Hungarian Minister of Commerce, Klauzal, sent that same month to Kraus proposing to enter with him into a negotiation to modify the Tariff between the two countries. On receiving an evasive reply, Klauzal raised the duty on Austrian sugar, hoping to force the Minister to give a decided answer. He at the same time renewed his offers to Kraus, but added that if he refused to take the matter into consideration, he himself must grant the wish of the Hungarian people by opening their commerce at once to all nations, through the port of Fiume. In reply, the Austrian Minister assured him they were engaged in a revision of the Tariff, and would consider the Hungarian propositions in September.

Kossuth returned to Pesth in the middle of June, though still in feeble health. Alarming insurrections, which had broken out in the South of Hungary, while the country was yet unprovided with means of defence, had obliged his colleagues to confess the wisdom of the precautionary measures he had advised. Though the insurgents were Serbs and Wallacks, the Hungarian people were surprised to find Austrian officers engaged on both sides, and neither ministerial nor royal proclamations forbidding assistance being afforded to the rebels, seemed to produce any effect.

When, after the fall of Metternich, the demands of the Hungarian people had been granted, Louis Gay, the head of the Illyric Confederation, came with a deputation to Vienna, to petition for a separation from Hungary, and a responsible Ministry for Croatia. Although this could not be granted consistently with the unity of Hungary, and

with the oath the Sovereign had taken at his coronation, the petitioners were made to understand that the refusal was solely and entirely owing to Magyar influence. When therefore the Croats found they could gain nothing by this means, they raised the black and yellow standard of Austria, in place of the Hungarian colours, and called upon the people to protect their Sovereign against the encroachments of democracy.

In the middle of May the Serbian insurrection commenced. Every horror which the human imagination could devise, was perpetrated upon the unfortunate victims; some were roasted alive, some buried to their necks in the earth and left to be devoured by swine, the eyes of others bored out, and in their savage cruelty the rebels spared neither age nor sex. Those who had hitherto been most adverse to anything like military preparations now began to see the necessity of resorting to active measures without delay. Commissioners were accordingly sent down into the country with troops, and were invested with full powers to act, where necessary. Batthyanyi, who believed this insurrection to be the only danger which threatened Hungary, expected aid from Austria, while Kossuth, who considered it to be the commencement of a greater struggle, could not blind himself to the double part playing at Vienna. Both, however, were agreed on the necessity of immediate action, and that a grant of money and of soldiers should be demanded at the meeting of the next Diet. These views accorded with those of the Cabinet of Vienna, as increased supplies were also required to suppress the insurrection in Lombardy. But the Austrian Ministers had no sincere intention that they should be employed against the Croats, whose rebellion had been fomented by their own agents, active in stimulating the enmities of race against race, in the hope of weakening Hungary. Rajacscica, the Greek Patriarch, who had rejected

the offer of a synod proposed by Eötvös, and had incited the fanaticism of the people, and Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, were willing instruments by whom to execute the infamous designs of Austria.

Joseph Baron Jellachich was born in Croatia, in 1801, and was the eldest son of an officer of rank, who died leaving his widow and children in poverty. Jellachich was educated in the Theresien Academy in Vienna, where he attracted the notice of the Emperor, Francis the First, who used to point him out to strangers as a prodigy. He served first in the army in Italy, and subsequently in Bosnia, where he distinguished himself in several actions. He rose to distinction, and was highly favoured by the Royal Family, especially by the Arch-Duchess Sophia, the mother of the young heir to the Throne, and by them he was singled out as a fit tool by which to carry on their intrigues against Hungary. Batthyanyi had hardly been appointed Minister, when Jellachich was named, by a Royal decree, Ban of Croatia, without even requesting the counter-signature of the Premier. Although the proceeding was irregular it was overlooked, and thus emboldened, Jellachich, when summoned to put himself in communication with the Hungarian Ministry, refused obedience, declared the connection between Hungary and Croatia changed, and called a Diet at Agram on the 5th of June. On the 10th the King publicly decreed, that in consequence of the illegal conduct of the Ban, he was deprived of all his civil and military offices and dignities, and proclaimed a rebel, while all the troops stationed in Hungary, whether Hungarians or Austrians, as well as all the fortresses of the country, were placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Minister of War, and under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Cabinet. In the face of this decree, Latour supplied Jellachich with artillery and ammunition, while Austrian officers assisted in the rebellion of the Serbs and Wallacks.

On the 19th of June, Jellachich, with the Greek patriarch *Rajacsics*, and a deputation from the Croatian Diet, proceeded to Insprück, where, in the presence of Esterhazy, he was informed of the Emperor's displeasure at his conduct, of his Majesty's resolution to maintain the unity of the Hungarian Crown, and that the Diet at Agram was dissolved. His cold reception by the Emperor was atoned for by the Arch-Duchess *Sophia*, who, by her friendly and familiar conduct towards him, made amends for the ungracious treatment of Ferdinand.* After he left Insprück, the Imperial decree of the 10th of June was sent to him; but aware of its insincerity, he continued his journey to Agram, where he was received by his own adherents with the utmost enthusiasm.

The Arch-Duke John, having been requested to act as mediator, summoned Jellachich and Batthyanyi to a conference at Vienna. After presenting them to one another, he advised them to come to an amicable understanding, and then bidding them farewell departed for the Frankfort Parliament, where he had been appointed Regent. Jellachich made demands to which it was impossible for Batthyanyi to accede, and at the termination of the conference, the Ban inquired, "Shall we meet again?" To which Batthyanyi replied, "Perhaps upon the Drave." "Not upon the Drave," answered Jellachich, "but upon the Danube."

From their first appointment the Ministers had urged the exchange of Austrian troops serving in Hungary, for Hungarian troops serving under Radetzky in Italy. A promise had been made that it should be done with the least possible delay, though gradually, so as not to encounter a very heavy expense, and to render the Hungarian regiments inefficient. But now that the Hungarian Ministers could

* See *Memoirs of an Hungarian Lady*, vol. ii. p. 60.

no longer blind themselves to the fact, that the Austrian troops were not to be relied upon, they demanded an immediate exchange, in order to provide against treachery in their own army.

Jellachich, mean time, secretly countenanced by Latour and by the members of the Royal Family, issued a Manifesto, and sent to the Slavacks of the North, inviting them to join the insurrection. When Kossuth opposed the ultra-Magyar party, and urged that equality of rights and privileges would tend more to promote the nationality of Hungary than enforcing one general language, he could not have foreseen how soon his assertion would be practically borne out. The laws which had been successfully carried in March and April, for the relief of feudal burdens, the equality of taxation, &c., in which the Slavacks were likewise included, had satisfied their desires, and they refused to assist in a rebellion against the Hungarian Government. But the ignorant Wallacks of Transylvania, and the Croats and Slaves of the South, joined the standard of the Ban.

Kossuth once again endeavoured to influence the country through the Press. A newspaper, entitled "Kossuth Hir-lápja" (Kossuth's paper), was edited by a well-known author, J. Paiza, and became the organ of the Minister of Finance. It consisted of two closely printed sheets, containing a correspondence from all parts of Hungary, and a careful Chronicle of European events. Its title ensured its popularity, and Kossuth wrote articles with his signature attached to them, relating to the condition of the country, and the duties imperative upon himself and his colleagues in case of war. "I desire," he wrote, "an honourable peace; and because I wish for peace, I maintain that it is indispensably necessary we should be prepared for war; no one fears the sleeping giant. To be unprepared is more dangerous than weakness, it is certain death."

A deputation had been sent to the King, in June, beseeching him to come in person to Pesth to open the Diet, but no answer was returned to this request. As the first National Diet, elected by nearly, though not entirely, universal suffrage, it formed an era in Hungarian history. Servants, apprentices, and all who were dependent upon the will of others, were not permitted a vote. The property qualification differed in kind in the country and the towns, but the principal object attained was, that property and intelligence had been substituted for the privilege of mere birth. A property of thirty pounds' value in the country, and an income of ten pounds in the towns, entitled the possessor to a vote; but to judge of the true meaning of this qualification, it must be borne in mind that meat was, in Hungary, threepence halfpenny a pound, and wheat fifteen shillings a quarter. The Deputies, though still elected as before for three years, were enabled to act as free agents, and were not hampered any longer by specific instructions.

On the 2nd July, in the absence of the king, the Diet was opened by the Palatine; an immense crowd assembled to see the procession pass along the streets. It was led by Moritz Perczel, commissioner of the Hungarian police, followed by the burgomasters of Pesth and Buda. The ministers came next escorted by a troop of the National Guards, and lastly the Palatine and Batthyanyi. Deputations from both Chambers received the Palatine at the House of Assembly, and conducted him into the hall, where he took his place on the throne, supported on either hand by the ministers.

After calling the attention of the Diet to the state of the finances, and directing attention to the defences of the country, he continued: "His Majesty has learned with pain, that, although he only followed the dictates of his gracious inclination, when at the request of the faithful Hungarian people he gave his royal sanction to the laws enacted

by the last Diet—laws which the exigencies of the present times render indispensable for the general welfare—there are, nevertheless, a number of seditious agitators, especially in the annexed territories, and the Hungarian districts of the Lower Danube, who, by false reports and terrorism, have excited the different religious sects and races speaking different languages against each other, and by mendaciously affirming that the above-mentioned laws are not the free expressions of His Majesty's royal will, have stirred up the people to offer an armed resistance to the execution of the law, and to the legally-constituted authorities; and, moreover, that some of these agitators have even proceeded so far in their iniquitous course as to spread the report that this armed resistance has been made in the interests of the dynasty, and with the knowledge and connivance of His Majesty, or of the members of His Majesty's royal house. I, therefore, in order that all the inhabitants of the kingdom, without distinction as to creed or language, may have their minds set at rest, hereby declare, in conformity with the sovereign will of his Majesty our most gracious King, and in his royal name and person, that it is his Majesty's firm and steadfast determination to defend, with all his royal power and authority, the unity and integrity of his royal Hungarian crown, against every attack from without, and every attempt at disruption and separation that may be made within the kingdom; and, at the same time, to maintain inviolate the laws which have received the royal sanction. And while his Majesty will not suffer any one to curtail the liberties secured to all classes by the law, his Majesty, as well as all the members of the royal family, strongly condemns the audacity of those who venture to affirm that any act whatsoever, contrary to law, or any want of respect to constituted authorities, can be reconcileable with his Majesty's sovereign will, or in any way compatible with the interests of the royal dynasty."

After five days spent in preliminaries, the National Assembly was, on the 10th of July, declared by the president Pázmándy constituted.

Though it was customary to commence with a representation of grievances, the President announced that it was the intention of the Minister of Finance to bring forward, in the first place, a motion respecting the defences of the country. This proposition was met with violent disapprobation by the ultra-Radicals. The Ministers had already, on the 5th of July, drawn up a protocol by which they were prepared to announce their intention of proposing a grant of troops to Austria, for the suppression of the movement in Italy, on the ground that they were bound by the 1st article of the Pragmatic Sanction to afford aid to Austria, *etiam contra vim externam*, and that the states, comprising the realm of Hungary, were to be preserved by the monarch *aque indivisibiliter*, as his hereditary estates; the sovereign, at the same time, promising for himself and his successors, to compel his subjects of every condition and degree to observe the laws and rights of Hungary. The Hungarian Cabinet desired to throw the responsibility of the acts, recently committed to the prejudice of Hungary, upon the Viennese ministers and not upon the King; therefore, unless Hungary were prepared to come to an open breach with Austria, and to rebel against her lawful King, she was as much bound to maintain her part of the compact, as the sovereign was bound to be faithful to his coronation oath. From the time the King of Sardinia entered Lombardy, the war might justly be termed defensive: orders had been sent from Vienna to General Radetzky to offer independence to the Lombards, and constitutional nationality under the Austrian crown to Venice; Radetzky suppressed both despatches, but as he continued in favour at court, it appears probable that he acted in obedience to secret instructions

from Vienna. The Austrian Cabinet, however, made use of this feigned liberality to advance their interests elsewhere, and the Hungarian Ministers were deceived into a belief that the Italians had rejected the fair overtures made them by the sovereign, and were unreasonable in their demands. In the protocol of the 5th of July, it was therefore proposed that the troops should be granted to the King, on condition that the rebellion should be crushed in Hungary, and that they were not to be employed against Italy, unless the Italians rejected the offer made to them of national independence, and a constitution co-ordinate with that of Hungary, under the Austrian crown.

Events had however lately transpired, which caused a just apprehension and suspicion of the Austrian Court and Cabinet. The Hungarian troops sent against the Serbs had met with soldiers of the Austrian army acting with the rebels, and it had been ascertained as a fact, that General Meyerhofs, the Austrian Consul at Belgrade, was openly enlisting bands of Serbs to reinforce them, and General Bechtold, who was commissioned by the King to lead the Hungarians against the insurgents, was accused of disposing of his troops in a manner which must inevitably cause their decimation. The Opposition in the Diet was roused to indignation at the intelligence of these proceedings, and was therefore eager that the Representation should precede all other matters. They considered the speech from the Throne to have been intentionally worded so as to buy an increase of troops, from the Hungarian Ministers, by conceding a strong protest against the Serbian rebellion: and Paul Nyáry, the former Vice-Ispány, of the county of Pesth, one of the principal leaders of the ultra-Liberals, commenced the debate. He was a man of a calm yet bold temper, and at once accused the Ministers of a leaning towards Austria. The two brothers Madarass, noted for their impetuosity, followed,

and were supported by Moritz Perczel. Eötvös, Bezéredy, and others, vainly endeavoured to convince them of their error, and Joseph Madarász at length, in the heat of argument, accused the Cabinet of treason. The Minister of Justice, Deak, feeling himself unequal to the encounter, sent for Kossuth, who, though suffering severely from indisposition, which was increased by the effort he felt himself obliged to make, hastened to obey the summons, and ascending the Tribune, defended the cause of Ministers with such cogent reasons that all further objections were silenced. The assembly broke up in a state of extraordinary excitement, when the President announced a majority in favour of Ministers, and that the following day Kossuth would bring forward his motion on the defences of the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

July 11th, 1848.

Kossuth's Speech on the Defences of the Country.

On the morning of the 11th of July, the great hall leading to the Chamber of Deputies was crowded to suffocation, and those who could not gain admittance into the galleries and adjoining rooms, surrounded the building: the hour approached for the opening of that day's Diet; and cheers, which resounded along the streets, announced the arrival of the Minister of Finance. The shouts were re-echoed from every mouth as he entered the Chamber. He was at that time so reduced by illness, that he was obliged to be supported by two of the Deputies as he tottered up the wide steps, leading to the Ministerial benches; but the sympathy of the House seemed to renew his strength, and after a

solemn pause, in which the President opened the sitting, Kossuth slowly ascended the Tribune, but appeared so much indisposed, that it was thought impossible he could speak a quarter of an hour, or remain standing half that time; the Deputies from all sides, called on him to be seated; he thanked them, and replied, "that later in the day, if he should find it necessary, he would take advantage of their permission."*

After a pause of a few seconds, he began his oration, while in the deep silence which pervaded the Assembly, his clear, though feeble, voice could be heard to the furthest end of the chamber, and as he warmed with his subject, it became firmer and more distinct.†

"Gentlemen, in ascending the Tribune to call upon you to save the country, I am oppressed with the greatness of the moment; I feel as if God had placed in my hands the trumpet to arouse the dead, that if sinners and weak, they may relapse into death, but that if the vigour of life is still within them they may waken to eternity. The fate of the nation at this moment is in your hands; with your decision on the motion which I shall bring forward, God has placed the decision on the life or death of Hungary; and because this hour is so important, I have resolved not to use the weapons of rhetoric, for I cannot but believe, I cannot but feel convinced, however opinions may differ in this House, the sacred love of our country, and a desire for its

* When excited by any subject of interest, Kossuth has been frequently known to speak for an extraordinary length of time, though his bodily health was such as to make it at first appear impossible even to himself, and after labours and fatigue which would have completely exhausted a stronger man.

† The extracts from this celebrated speech have been partly taken from E. I. Horn's German translation, and partly from the English of Headley, in his Life of Kossuth.

independence, honour, and freedom, is so general among us, that we would all be equally ready to offer the last drop of our blood for its sake. Where this feeling is general, no stimulus is needed to urge upon you to choose the proper means for its salvation. Gentlemen, our country is in danger. It is, perhaps, enough to pronounce these words, for with the dawn of freedom, the veil of darkness has fallen from the eyes of the nation. You know the state of the country; you know that the authorities have orders to place the National Guard on a war footing, that an effective military force may be in readiness to defend the country, and to punish sedition on the frontiers. These orders have found an echo throughout the nation; but could it have been so, had the nation not been aware of the impending danger? It is itself a proof that the sentiment is general; nevertheless, gentlemen, without entering into minor details, I consider it my duty, to give you a sketch of the condition of the country.

“At the dissolution of the last Diet, and when the first responsible Ministry entered upon its functions with an empty exchequer, without arms, and without the means of defence, it was impossible not to perceive and lament the terrible neglect from which the interests of the country had suffered. I myself am one of many who for years called upon the Executive Power, as well as upon the nation, to be just to the people, for we foresaw the day would yet arrive when justice would come too late; the feeling of justice, perhaps of patriotism, and the general enthusiasm may yet avert the full force of the fatal words *too late!* But it is certain that the Nation and the Executive Power have retarded justice, and that, this very delay, has caused the subversion of existing institutions at the very moment when justice has been done to the people.

“Gentlemen,—you are aware that the Nation has granted

all its rights and privileges to Croatia. . . . ! The rights we have acquired for ourselves we have likewise acquired for her, the liberty that was granted to the people of Hungary was likewise granted to the Croats, and we extended to them the indemnity we granted to our Nobles at our own cost, because their country is too small and too impoverished to raise the indemnity within itself. Croatia feared for her nationality—a fear produced by misconception and error, for the Diet has expressly decreed that the Croats shall have the full right to make use of their own language in the administration of their own laws, and not only left their municipal privileges unimpaired, but extended and augmented them. . . . The last Diet did not only leave the power of the Ban (upon which so much stress is laid) undiminished, but even secured his influence in the administration of the country, by a law which admitted him to a seat in the Hungarian Council of State; the Ministry, accordingly, without delay, invited the newly-appointed Ban (that Ban who had been thrown like a curse about our necks in the last moments of a power which has fallen under the scourge of truth and freedom, but which hoped once again by him to conjure up the demon of re-action), the Ministry invited him to take his seat in the Hungarian Council of State, and to confer with them on the surest means by which tranquillity, order, and peace could be best secured in Croatia. The Ban replied by open rebellion, and thus cut off the possibility of coming to a right understanding; the Ministry, nevertheless, have neglected nothing which they thought might be for the advantage of Croatia and of the Military Frontiers. I can comprehend a people who, deeming the freedom they possess too little, take up weapons to acquire more, though they indeed play a hazardous game, for such weapons are double-edged; but I cannot comprehend a people who say the freedom you offer us is too much, we will not accept your

offer, but we will go and submit ourselves to the yoke of Absolutism; yet such are the people of Croatia, for in the petition which the Agram Conventicle sent to his Majesty they entreat to be allowed to separate themselves from Hungary, not to form a self-existing, independent nation, but to submit themselves to the Austrian Ministers. The same part was formerly played by La Vendée, though here it has not been occasioned by a reign of Terror, but by re-actionary intrigues woven under the guise of hypocritical fidelity to the sovereign.

“ The Serbian rebellion must be treated as a separate affair; it is impossible to trace its motives. Croatia, although united to us by the Hungarian Crown, which cannot unloose the tie without incurring the guilt of high treason, is nevertheless a distinct country; but whoever would establish a separate power on the territory of Hungary herself, is a traitor and rebel. Even where guilt is proved, gentlemen, the shedding of blood is no light matter; and, therefore, the Government believed they would deserve the approbation of God and man, if they could avoid forcing the misguided people into the horrors of a civil war, and have therefore left nothing untried to attain this end.

“ Gentlemen, we are admonished by another circumstance to place the country in a state of defence, which circumstance is the position of the countries on the Lower Danube.* As I require that the internal affairs of Hungary shall not be interfered with by any other nation, so I do not desire that the Hungarian nation shall interfere with the internal affairs of any other country. I shall only observe that a powerful Russian army has appeared on the banks of the Pruth, which may be destined to move in any direction, to the right, or to the left; which may act as a friend, or as

* The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

a foe, and as either event is possible, the nation must hold itself prepared.* Finally, gentlemen, I must allude to our relations with Austria. In justice, I confess that it appears to me only natural that the Viennese Government should regret its inability to dispose of Hungary any longer; but it does not follow because regrets are natural, they are also justifiable, and still less that a nation should yield any of its rights from compassion. Certain attempts have been made to recover the departments of Finance and War for the Viennese Cabinet. The rest of the Hungarian Cabinet would soon follow, for whoever has his hand upon the purse and upon the sword of the nation, will soon have power over the whole. The disturbances in Croatia are evidently connected with this schéme, for Jellachich has declared that he asks for no increase of liberty, but only that the departments of Finance and War shall be delivered up to the Ministers at Vienna. In the latter days of June, the veil of State secrecy was lifted; the Viennese Ministers were pleased to inform the Ministry of the King of Hungary, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, that if we did not conclude peace with the Croats on any terms, they would act in opposition to us; which is as much as to say, that the Emperor of Austria proclaims war on the King of Hungary,

* In June, a Russian army had entered Moldavia. On the 1st of September, in answer to a question from Lord D. C. Stuart, Lord Palmerston assured the house, the "Russian army had entered at the request of the Prince of Moldavia, only to maintain the quiet of the provinces, and without orders from St. Petersburg; that the corps was not large, and its stay would be temporary." This reply silenced further inquiry, but it seems to have been false throughout. The Hospodar did not want the army, but the Austrian Cabinet did. Undoubtedly it was sent by orders from St. Petersburg. When Lord Palmerston asserted that no orders had been sent from St. Petersburg, he could not speak with authority, except from a Russian source. See the *Progress of Russia*, *Westminster Review*, Oct. 1853.

who is himself. Whatever opinion, gentlemen, you may entertain of the Ministry, I am convinced that you will give us credit for an attachment to the honour of our country, and that it would be superfluous to assure you that we replied to this menace in a manner becoming the dignity of the nation. Just after we had despatched our answer to Vienna, a second message arrived, complaining in bitter terms of the conduct of the Hungarian Minister of Finance, because he had not sent money to the rebel Jellachich. Since the Croats broke into open rebellion, I had of course suspended the remittances to the Commander-in-Chief at Agram; I were not worthy to breathe the air of heaven had I sent money to an enemy. But the Viennese Ministers thought otherwise, they considered my refusal to be a desire to undermine the Monarchy; and transmitted, according to their own statement, 100,000 florins, but in reality 150,000 florins to the favoured traitor. This act alone might rouse the indignation of this House; but gentlemen, the Ministry which hoped to prolong its term of existence by such a policy, is no more. The Aula of Vienna has crushed it;* and I hope that of whatever men the next Ministry may be composed, they will know that if they do not mean to deny their allegiance to the Emperor of Austria, who is also King of Hungary, and to side with the rebels against their sovereign lord, they cannot pursue this policy without bidding defiance to Hungary; who in that case, will throw the broken alliance at the feet of Austria, which nourishes rebellion within her, and seek friends elsewhere. I have no cause of complaint against the Austrian people; I only wish them strength and a leader, both of which have hitherto been

* In June, the new Viennese Ministry was composed of Wessenberg, Foreign Affairs; Dobblhof, Home Affairs; Kraus, Finance; Dr. Bach, Justice; Hornbostel, Commerce; Schwanzner, Public Works; Latour, War.

wanting. My words do not refer to them, but to the Austrian Ministers. With the Austrian relations on the one hand, the state of the countries on the Lower Danube on the other, the Serbian insurrection, the Croatian rebellion, the Pan-Slavonic agitation, and re-actionary movements, the nation is placed in imminent peril. In what foreign alliance could the nation find protection and safety? I will not underrate the importance of relations with foreign countries, and I consider that the Cabinet would be guilty of a dereliction from the path of duty, if in this respect they did not exert themselves to their utmost. At our very first entrance into office, we commenced a correspondence with the British Government, and explained that Hungary has not (as many have attempted to promulgate) extorted rights and liberties from her King, but that we stand with him on one common ground, and that we have also entered into an explanation with our Sovereign on our common interests on the Lower Danube. We have received a reply on the part of the British Government, such as we might have expected from the liberal views, and from the policy, of that nation. In the meanwhile, we may rest assured that England will only assist us, in as far as she finds it consistent with her own interests. As for France, I entertain the most lively sympathy with the French, as the champions of liberty; but I do not desire to see the existence of my nation dependent upon their protection and alliance. France has just seen a second Brumaire; France stands on the threshold of a Dictatorship, perhaps the world may see a second Washington; probably we shall see a second Napoleon rise from the ashes of the past. This at least is certain, that France has given us a lesson which proves that revolutions are not always conducive to liberty, and *that when liberty exceeds its proper limits, a nation struggling for freedom may be*

placed under the yoke of tyranny. It is indeed to be lamented that in such a glorious nation as France, the blood of 12,000 citizens should be shed by their fellow-citizens in the streets of Paris. May God preserve our own country from such a scourge! But whatever aspect the affairs of France may assume, whether that man whom Providence has placed at the head of the nation prove a second Washington, who knows how to reject a crown, or a second Napoleon, who will erect the temple of his sanguinary glory on the ruins of the people's liberty, one thing is certain, that France is a long way from us. Poland relied on French sympathy; she received that sympathy; yet Poland is no more! The third power whose assistance we may seek, is the German Empire. Gentlemen, I feel that Hungary is destined to live with the free German nation, and that the free German nation is destined to live with the free Hungarian nation in the most friendly intercourse, and that both must watch over the civilization of the east of Europe. Therefore, as soon as Germany made the first step towards her unity, by convoking the Frankfort Parliament, we considered it to be one of our first duties to send two of our countrymen (one of whom has now been elected President of this House*) to Frankfort, where they have been received with the respect which is due to the Hungarian nation. But as the Frankfort Assembly is still struggling for existence, and is not yet sufficiently matured to enter into negotiations with foreign powers (which can only take place after the election of the Regent,† and the appointment of a ministry), one of our ambassadors remains in Frankfort to negotiate respecting the league we desire to enter into with Germany, as

* The President Pazmándy.

† The Arch-Duke, John of Austria, was appointed Regent to the German Empire in the Frankfort Parliament.

soon as the official relations can with propriety be considered. . . .

"The danger is imminent, or rather threatens to become so,* and is gathering on the horizon of our country; but above all, we ought to seek strength to repel it in ourselves. That nation can alone survive, which has vital power within itself; but the nation, which cannot be sustained by its own strength, and is dependent on the assistance of others, has no future. .

"I therefore call upon you, gentlemen, to form a generous resolution. Proclaim that, with a just appreciation of the extraordinary circumstances which has occasioned this Diet to be summoned, the nation has determined to make any sacrifice for the defence of the Crown, of its own freedom, and independence. But in order to make this important resolution effective, and if possible, to mediate an honourable peace or else be victorious in battle, the Government shall be authorized to increase the effective force of the army to 200,000 men, and in furtherance thereof, immediately to equip 40,000 men, the rest to be levied, as shall be expedient for the safety of the country, and the honour of the nation.

"The expense of raising an army of 200,000 men, its armament and maintenance, will amount to forty-two million of florins, but that of levying 40,000 men, from eight to ten million. Gentlemen, if you assent to this motion, I propose within a few days to lay before the House a detailed financial scheme, but I beg to state that nothing is further from my thoughts than to demand a taxation of forty-two million of florins on the nation. My scheme, on the contrary, is that every one shall contribute according to his means, and if that does not suffice, we must trust to our credit to make up the deficiency. I am happy to announce that the plan I shall propose, is based upon an estimate

agreeing with the rate of taxation fixed a century ago for Transylvania by Maria Theresa, and is in reality even more moderate. . . . Should the imposed taxation not suffice for the organization of a military force such as the present circumstances imperatively demand, I shall claim from the Executive the power to open a credit to any amount which the Representatives of the nation shall consider necessary. This credit shall supply the deficiency either in the shape of a loan, or by the issue of paper money, or by some other financial operation.

“Gentlemen, I am of opinion that the future existence of the nation depends on the resolution passed by the House on this occasion, and not only on the resolution itself, but on the manner in which it is formed. This, gentlemen, is the reason why I have refrained from mixing up this question with that on the Address. I conceive, that when a nation is threatened on every side, and feels within itself the will and the power to repel the danger, that the question of the preservation of the country ought to stand alone.

“To-day we are the Ministers of the nation! To-morrow others may take our place: no matter! The Ministers may be changed; but thou, oh! my country, thou must for ever remain, and the nation itself, by whatever Ministry guided, must alone preserve thee. To do this, it must develop its strength. Therefore to avoid all misapprehensions, I here solemnly and deliberately demand of this House, a grant of 200,000 soldiers and the necessary pecuniary assistance.” . . .

Overcome by the importance to the country of the demand he was making, Kossuth's speech failed him as he reached this part of his oration. All remained silent a few seconds, when Paul Nyáry, who the day before had opposed him with so much energy, stood up, and raising his right hand, as if in

the act of taking an oath, broke the silence by exclaiming with a loud voice; "Megadjuk," "We grant it." Four hundred right hands were in an instant raised towards heaven, and as one man the Deputies repeated the words of Nyáry. Kossuth in the meantime had recovered his composure, and folding his arms across his breast, continued with a voice still trembling with emotion:—

"What I desired to say was, that this request on the part of the Government ought not to be considered as a demand for a vote of confidence; no, we ask your vote for the preservation of the country; and gentlemen, if any breast sighs for freedom or any desire waits for its fulfilment, let that breast suffer yet a little longer, and have patience until we have saved our country. You have all risen to a man, and I bow before the generosity of the nation, while I add one more request; let your energy equal your patriotism, and I venture to affirm that even the gates of hell shall not prevail against Hungary."

The burst of patriotic enthusiasm and joyful emotion which hailed this speech stands alone in the history of Hungarian parliaments. Liberals and Conservatives, Moderates and Ultras, pressed forward to grasp the hand of the orator, and to congratulate him and the nation on his success. As he departed, accompanied by a few friends, he was followed by the cheers and blessings of the multitude; the excitement within the house was such, that in spite of the urgency of affairs, the President was obliged to adjourn the sitting for an hour. All the passionate expression which is inherent in the nation was called forth on this occasion; some melted into tears, old men and young, friends and foes, embraced: "I would give the happiness of my life, and even part with all that remains of it, for the delight of having witnessed this hour," exclaimed one;

"Now, for the first time, I believe in the future existence of Hungary," observed another; while the grey-haired Ladislaus Palöczy, the Nestor of the National Assembly, with folded hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and ejaculated, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

Scenes similar to these have occurred in our own House of Commons when our just rights and liberties were endangered. Carlyle, in his *Life of Cromwell*, thus comments upon the excited feelings of an English parliament in the year 1628: "Why did those old honourable gentleman weep? How came tough old Coke upon Lyttleton, one of the toughest men ever made, to melt into tears like a girl, and sit down unable to speak? The modern honourable gentleman cannot tell; let him consider it, and try if he can tell! and then, putting off his shot belt, and striving to put on some Bible doctrine, some earnest God's truth or other; try if he can discover why he cannot tell!"

CHAPTER XVII.

July, August, September, 1848.

Proposal of Ministers respecting the destination of the troops—Opinion of Kossuth—The Radicals oppose the troops being sent to Italy—The clause of Kossuth—He moves that Hungary should be entrusted with the guidance of her international concerns—Kossuth opposes two motions in the Diet; one for the union of the two Chambers, and the other for the establishment of Government schools—The Kossuth notes—The Budget—The King orders the Pala-

tine to resign the Viceroyalty—Batthyanyi and Deak at Vienna—Jellachich and the Croats seize on Fiume in the name of the Emperor of Austria—The Austrian ministers warn the Palatine that the Emperor had exceeded his powers in granting a responsible ministry to Hungary—Kossuth endeavours to moderate the indignation of the Diet—He draws up a manifesto on the dangers which threaten the country—A deputation named to carry the manifesto to the King—Autograph letter of the King to Jellachich—Interview of Pulezky with Wessenberg—Arrival of the Hungarian deputation at Schonbrunn—The address to the King—Unsatisfactory reply of the King—Its reception—The deputation leave Vienna and hoist the red flag in place of the tricolor.

It was not peace however, but a long period of strife which awaited Hungary. The grant of troops and of money had been made, but their destination was yet uncertain. With such recent proofs of the perfidy of Austria, it appeared madness to place additional weapons in her hands, which might shortly be turned against Hungary; and though it seemed also a moral iniquity for a nation on the eve of a struggle for her own liberties, to assist in suppressing those of another, Batthyanyi and a majority of his colleagues, who were still in favour of trying conciliatory measures with the court, proposed that a part of the troops granted by the Diet should be destined for the augmentation of the army in Italy; in return, they hoped to receive the assistance of Austria to suppress the insurrection of the Serbs and Croats at home: but while Batthyanyi maintained his belief in the good intentions of the royal family, and, convinced that Hungary could not save herself without external aid, was desirous to purchase her safety at any price, Kossuth refused to give his unqualified assent to the line of

policy adopted by his colleagues. He well knew who were the chief instigators and guides of the rebellion in the south, and his warm sympathies for the cause of freedom would not allow him to advocate a measure directly opposed to the movement in Italy. He repeatedly offered to resign, but was as often entreated to remain; during the debate which took place on the 20th July, he insisted that only an allusion should be made to the question of nationality, in the Address to the throne, and that the demands of Austria should be passed over in total silence: Batthyanyi, however, alarmed by the aspect of affairs, urged the Diet to express their readiness to support the King in his Italian wars, and thus unconsciously promoted the views of the Austrian ministers, who desired either to ruin his popularity and that of Kossuth, by inducing them to sacrifice Italian freedom, or to denounce them to all Europe as conspirators against the integrity of the Austrian empire.

Kossuth agreed with him in the opinion, that part of the troops should be granted for Italy, though, under such conditions as would render them innocuous to the cause of freedom in that country; therefore, on the 23rd July, in his speech on the Address, he expressed his honest conviction that Hungary was bound to remain faithful to the compact which united her to Austria, unless she was prepared to throw off her allegiance to her lawful Sovereign. His personal sympathies with the Italians had been shaken by the belief which he shared with his colleagues, that they had rejected the equitable terms offered them by the Emperor, but nevertheless he proposed, that if additional troops were ceded to Austria, it should be on the condition, that they were not to be sent to force a despotic government upon Italy, but only to enable the Emperor to command honourable terms with his Italian subjects, and at the same time he openly expressed his sympathy with them in their past

struggles, and his desire to see them free, and under a constitutional government; adding, that he had rejoiced in his inmost soul at their successes, and for the moment had forgotten that their victories were purchased with the blood of Hungary.

Nine-tenths of the House voted with Ministers; but the Opposition, though in a small minority, still protested against any portion of the troops being sent to Italy. They contended, that the moral effect of their consent to such a measure, even though the soldiers were employed elsewhere, might prove detrimental to the liberal party in Lombardy. The generous spirit by which this small body in the Diet were actuated, cannot be sufficiently commended, but in their love of liberty they forgot that they also owed a moral obligation to their Sovereign, who had not yet wholly forfeited their allegiance. They were out-voted by the majority who held to the letter, as well as to the spirit of the law, as a matter of right and justice, to whatever consequences it might lead: Kossuth suggested the insertion of a clause, by which the Austrian Cabinet should not be permitted the entire disposal of the troops, but only to employ them against Italy, *if required, after the demand for free institutions, made by the Italian Provinces, had been amply gratified*; and further, that it should be stipulated, that if it proved impossible to satisfy both parties, a strategetical line should be drawn, beyond which, the Lombards should remain free and independent, while Austria should retain all that lay within this imaginary boundary; though even then, only on condition of granting a free constitution to the people: the proposed clause also enacted, that the continuance of the grant for the support of the Austrian Government would depend upon the upright maintenance of these conditions. At the request of the Diet, Kossuth drew up a formula to this effect, which he produced on the following

day. The clause was however opposed by Batthyanyi and Deak, and the small party of the Opposition, who were still dissatisfied, though the origin of their dissatisfaction was of a different nature from that of the Premier and the Minister of Justice: finally, the majority decided in favour of the Address as it had been originally framed by the Ministers, but with the addition of the clause of Kossuth, stating further, that the nation would gladly lend his Majesty any assistance for the conclusion of a peace which should be consistent with the dignity of the Throne, of constitutional freedom, and of the reasonable desires of the Italian people, but that this assistance would only be granted, after the restoration of order and peace in Hungary, and when the moral and material inviolability of the land should have been guaranteed.

On the 30th of July, Kossuth spoke on the necessity of Hungary taking the superintendence of her international concerns into her own guidance. When Prince Paul Esterhazy was named Minister of Foreign Affairs, his office did not confer upon him any power to watch over the interests of Hungary in foreign countries, but solely over her relations with the hereditary dominions of Austria. The actual guidance of the foreign affairs of Hungary, as well as the disposal of the Hungarian troops abroad, lay wholly in the King and the Viennese Cabinet. Kossuth pointed to the fact of the hostile position ever maintained by this Cabinet towards Hungary, its support of the Croat rebellion, and the extraordinary demand made at such a time upon the Hungarian people to waste their strength in aid of the perverse policy of Austria and Italy. He was of opinion that under such circumstances, the international affairs of Hungary should not be entrusted to the Viennese Ministers, and that since the fate of nations was often decided by their foreign policy, and since a system of

Austrian diplomacy could not be advantageous to Hungary, or promote her interests abroad with those powers on whose decision peace and war depend, that she should be represented by, and placed under the protection of, Hungarian Ambassadors and Consuls; further, to secure that the troops should not be employed upon foreign service, or in any service adverse to the interests of Hungary, he moved that the new levies should be commanded solely by Hungarian officers. The War Minister, Meszaros, who had the prejudices of an old soldier, was opposed to these innovations in the army, but Kossuth maintained that, as in the ancient law of the "insurrection," or levy of "Nobles," for the defence of the country, it was stipulated that they should serve under Hungarian colours and Hungarian commanders, so now that the "insurrection" had become a duty common to the whole people, and not to the "Nobles" alone, the right of being commanded solely by Hungarian officers was likewise included.

Kossuth was so much engaged with official business that he seldom attended the sittings of the Diet, unless some question of importance made his presence necessary. On the 7th of August he opposed Count Joseph Pálffy, who proposed to unite the Upper and Lower Chambers into one. He thought it unadvisable to disturb the existing harmony in the Diet, by a resolution which would have given cause of offence to the high Aristocracy, without producing any very important result for the country. He also opposed a motion of Eötvös for the establishment of Government Schools, a measure he considered premature under present circumstances. The state of the Hungarian Exchequer rendered it necessary to avoid incurring any additional expenses, and he was besides for reasons of policy adverse to the proposed measure. Prussia and Austria, he asserted, had afforded sufficient proofs of the spirit in which

Public Schools can be conducted, when entrusted wholly to the Government. All free participation in their guidance is denied to the community, and independence of thought repressed; the chief aim of instruction is sacrificed, or rendered subordinate to political ends. "Destiny," Kossuth continued, "has ordered that I should be one of the Ministers of this country, and it is said that human nature is ever ambitious of an increase of power. I do not feel this ambition. I have no desire for power derived from an abridgment of the liberties of the people. I can only find true liberty where all alike partake in it, and not in power concentrated in the hands even of a liberal Ministry. I wish to see a free people in villages, districts, families, everywhere and therefore I entreat you to grant the utmost freedom to the commonalty, who form the strongest and surest foundation for universal freedom." The motion of Eotvos was, however, carried against Kossuth, who was obliged to find the means for the establishment and maintenance of the new Schools in the empty Treasury of the State.

The Viennese Cabinet always hoped that the Hungarian Ministers would not be able to carry on their financial affairs without aid, and were therefore taken by surprise when, in the beginning of August, the one and two florin notes of Kossuth came into circulation. The Austrian Minister of Finance forbade the Public Treasury of Vienna to receive these notes, and Kossuth retaliated, on the 12th of August, by forbidding the Public Treasury of Hungary to accept the one and two florin notes issued by the Austrian National Bank. The advantage was, however, on the side of Hungary; for the Hungarian notes were well secured, while the small notes of Austria were absolutely without guarantee; therefore, in spite of Ministerial vetos, the Kossuth notes circulated widely, even in Austria.

On the 24th of August, Kossuth presented to the Diet his accounts for the past quarter, and his budget for that which was to come. When he was appointed Minister of Finance he had found only 506,015 florins in the Exchequer. The expenses of the past months, from April to June, had exceeded those of ordinary times. New offices had been created, several regiments raised and accounted, manufactories of arms and powder established, and other unforeseen demands made upon the public purse. Yet on the last day of June, there remained in the Treasury 519,670 florins, therefore a surplus of 13,645 florins, which, however small, proved that Hungary did not require, as the Viennese Cabinet had hoped, a supply from the Austrian Exchequer. It would, however, have to meet still larger expenses in the ensuing months. Kossuth calculated the revenue of the second half of the current year at 10,126,730 florins, the disbursements at 28,815,507, of which the War Department would require 16,480,000, besides 2,175,000 for the National Guard. He calculated the revenue for the year 1849, at 16,359,053, the disbursements at 62,222,368, of which the War Department would require 39,197,757, and the National Guard 8,350,000, which left a deficit of 64,582,087 florins for the year and half. Part of this deficit might be covered by new direct taxes, of which the income tax would produce the most considerable profit, and the remainder could either be covered by a loan, for which, as Kossuth observed, the times were unfavourable, or by a fresh issue of notes. The House decided on the latter course, and on the 26th of August granted the Minister a credit for 62,000,000 florins. Kossuth was prepared for this result, and in the ensuing month the notes were ready for circulation. Contributions of silver plate also poured in from all parts of the country, by which a large sum was realized, which was at least a demonstration of the unanimity of feeling among the people.

In the mean time the victories of Radetzky, in Italy, had imparted new courage to the Viennese Cabinet. A Royal Message informed the Diet that the King had recovered his health, and therefore intended to resume the Government into his own hands, and desired the Palatine to resign his power of Viceroy or Royal Plenipotentiary. This Message caused the utmost consternation, as, in fact, the Palatine's office of Viceroy could not cease until the arrival of the King in Hungary, since the appointment was not occasioned by his Majesty's indisposition, but was expressly made to supply his presence in Hungary, and therefore could not be affected by his restoration to health.

Batthyanyi and Deak had gone to Vienna to obtain the sign manual to the Bills which had already passed the Diet. The King received them with courtesy, but referred them to Latour, the Viennese Minister of War, to learn the Royal intentions. Latour recommended them to apply to the Premier, Baron Wessenberg, who would give them information respecting the views of the Austrian Cabinet. Batthyanyi replied, they wanted nothing from the Austrian Cabinet, but had been referred to him individually to obtain a knowledge of his Majesty's desires: but no further answer was vouchsafed. In the midst of this perplexity and doubt a courier arrived, with the tidings that the Croats, under Jellachich had, on the 1st of September, occupied Fiume and its seaport; and that, in the name of the Emperor of Austria and King of Croatia, they had removed the officers whom the Emperor, as King of Hungary, had himself appointed. At the same time Batthyanyi received a letter from Klauzal, the Hungarian Minister of Commerce, stating that a long official document from the Austrian Ministers had arrived at Pesth, addressed to the Palatine Arch-Duke Stephen, stating that the King had exceeded his powers in granting the Hungarians a separate respon-

sible Ministry, and demanding that the Department of Finance, and the Administration of the Military frontiers should be committed to the Austrian Ministers of Finance and War. Further, that the law of March, by which the Palatine was entrusted with the executive power in the absence of the King, was contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction, and he was commanded to send several of the Hungarian Ministers to Vienna to confer with the Austrian Ministry as to the best means to secure the unity and consolidation of the Monarchy, and to reconcile the interests of Croatia with Hungary. The presence of the Ban Jellachich, was made indispensable. The document was accompanied by an autograph letter from the King, expressive of his approbation of what it contained.

The Diet at Pesth was roused to the utmost indignation by this letter, and Kossuth found it difficult to restrain their anger within just bounds; he however succeeded in persuading the Deputies to wait in patience a few days, until further information could reach them from Vienna. The excitement against the Viennese Cabinet extended to the whole Austrian nation, and the Hungarians began even to look with indulgence upon the conduct of the Croats, whom they now regarded only as blind instruments of Austrian duplicity. In their eagerness they were even inclined to concede more than was reasonable to the deluded people; Kossuth, therefore, spoke as follows on the 2nd September: "As it was never my wish to hear one nation utter groundless accusations against another, I expressed some years ago in the General Assembly of the Comitât of Pesth, when the present state of affairs could not have been foreseen, my doubts whether the grievances of the Croats, however unfounded, could be peaceably adjusted so long as one nation was strongly excited against another; yet as I did not wish that any people on earth should feel themselves oppressed,

I was prepared to say to our fellow citizens of Croatia; Go, and be free, in God's name, if you are weary of seven centuries of union with Hungary.* At that time, my best friends were offended at my proposal; but, as the history of Hungarian legislation is only one continued proof that the Hungarian people have always conducted themselves like brethren to the Croats, and not only shared all their rights and liberties with them, but even granted them peculiar privileges, as the last Diet has not only left these unimpaired, but extended their newly-acquired rights and liberties to the neighbouring country; as the present Diet has declared itself prepared to maintain the independence and nationality of Croatia as well as to fulfil the just and reasonable demands of the Croats, when, I say, we recall all this, and on the other hand consider the dreadful calamities inseparable from Civil War, I believe it to be now high time for the Legislature to take counsel in the very commencement of their official labours how they can best fulfil their engagements towards the Croats."

The Diet hereupon passed a resolution that, although all amicable advances on the part of Hungary had been hitherto met in a hostile spirit, the representatives of the country still desire to offer the hand of friendship to Croatia, and invite the Croats to a harmonious settlement of differences, laying aside all groundless matter of dispute. They solemnly declared that, "as it had never been their intention to abate the smallest portion of the nationality, rights, and liberties of the land of the Croatian-Sclavonic nation, they would gladly embrace any means to preserve peace, and to obtain a friendly understanding with them," &c.

The intelligence received from Batthyanyi and Deak did

* See p. 238.

not tend to allay the indignation of the Diet against the Austrian Ministers and the Court; but to moderate its violence by diverting it into an active and more useful channel, Kossuth proposed, on the 4th September, that the House should consider what measures to adopt by which to ascertain the ultimate intentions of the Crown. He moved therefore, in the first place, that they should draw up a Manifesto describing the perilous state of the country; and while acquainting all Europe with the moderation of their desires, expose the secret intrigues by which their inalienable rights had been attacked, and a bulwark of civilization and of freedom shaken. The motion was carried unanimously, and a commission of five Deputies named to prepare the Manifesto; Kossuth next proposed that a deputation from the House should wait upon the King to learn his Majesty's intentions; that they should insist on an immediate audience, and not remain in Vienna longer than four-and-twenty hours. The deputation was named on the spot; it consisted of one hundred Deputies, twenty of whom were from the Upper House, and led by the President Pázmány.

On the 8th of September they arrived at Vienna, and the audience was fixed for the following morning at eleven o'clock, in the Royal Palace of Schönbrunn. Count Batthyányi, who was to introduce the Deputation, was there at the appointed time, and impatiently paced the court of the Palace, vainly awaiting both the Deputation, and the Lord Chamberlain to usher him into the Royal presence. The cause of the delay was serious; that morning news had reached Vienna from Agram, the capital of Croatia, that Jellachich had published an autograph letter of the King, dated the 4th of September, by which the Ban was reinstated in all his dignities and offices; it likewise expressed the Royal approbation of his acts, as proofs of his fidelity to his Sovereign. The Hungarian Deputies

could scarcely credit the authenticity of the news; they had doubted the faith of the Austrian Cabinet, but had not expected this treachery on the part of their King; the public at large however attributed Jellachich's restoration to favour solely to the influence of the Arch-Duchess Sophia, as the Emperor was well known to be only a tool in the hands of those who surrounded him. The Arch-Duke John, who had exercised the best influence over him, had been called to Frankfort, and while the Empress Mariana lived in seclusion, devoted to the care of her husband's health, the ambitious Arch-Duchess, with the Ministers, Wessenberg and Latour, were at liberty to carry on their intrigues round the person of the Sovereign. Prince Esterhazy, who for some weeks past had been coldly received at Court, had resigned his charge, as Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the whole management of the interests of Hungary had, consequently, devolved on the Under-Secretary of State, Pulszky. When the news of the publication of the King's letter arrived, he therefore hastened to Wessenberg, to inquire whether it was authentic. He found the Austrian Minister confined to bed, but Wessenberg feigned great indignation at the conduct of Jellachich, and without denying the authenticity of the letter, assured him that neither he nor any one belonging to the Council of State had been apprized of the matter, and this with such an appearance of truth, that Pulszky was completely deceived.

Mean time the Deputation hesitated whether to proceed on their mission, but a majority at length decided that the ceremony must be gone through. At one o'clock a long file of carriages drew up at the palace, where Batthyanyi had been waiting for two hours. The Deputies were all attired in deep mourning, and were thus ushered into the

presence of the King, where their President, Pázmándy, read the Address as follows :

“ In the name of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, we appear before your Majesty.” With our accustomed loyalty, which has stood the brunt of centuries; we claim the support of our crowned King, to preserve inviolate the rights of our country.

“ A Ferdinand was the first of your Majesty’s House, on whose brow Hungary voluntarily placed her sacred Crown. Transylvania did the same for Leopold the First. Hungary is not a conquered province, but a free country, whose constitutional rights and independence have been signed and sealed by your Majesty’s inaugural oath. The laws which your Majesty sanctioned with your approbation, on the 11th of April of this year, fulfilled the long cherished wishes of the Hungarian nation. Impelled by gratitude, and with ardour redoubled by the extension of our freedom, the nation was prepared with unaltered attachment to shield the throne of your Majesty from the dangers which threatened it from every side. But now a rebellion has disturbed various parts of the kingdom, and the leaders openly assert that they rise in the interest of the reigning Dynasty, and are rebels in your Majesty’s name against the freedom and independence which your Majesty lawfully guaranteed to the Hungarian nation.

“ Whilst one portion of the Hungarian army sheds its blood in Italy for the interests of the Monarchy, and gathers triumphant laurels on every battle-field, another portion of the army is instigated to refuse obedience to the lawful government of the kingdom. This sedition in the South of Hungary is reducing peaceful villages to ashes, and causing the massacre of innocent children and women in a barbarous manner. A rebellion from Croatia likewise threatens Hungary with hostile invasion, and the Croats have, without

provocation, occupied the Hungarian port of Fiume and the Slavonic provinces. These seditions can only arise from a re-actionary party who are attempting to destroy the consistency and integrity of Hungary, to annihilate the freedom of the nation, and to cancel the laws sworn to by the ancestors of your Majesty, and by your Majesty yourself."

Pázmány then proceeded to lay before the King the petitions of the Hungarian nation; that the Hungarian regiments, not employed against the enemy, should be marched without delay into Hungary, and placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Ministers; that the army then in Hungary should be commanded to perform its duty in the defence of the country, and in the maintenance of the just rights of Hungary against the rebels, whatever standard, or whatever name they might usurp: that the people of Croatia might be relieved from the military despotism to which they were subjected, and enabled to lay their lawful demands before the Hungarian Diet; that Fiume and the Slavonic provinces should be immediately restored; that his Majesty should give his sanction to the bills passed by the Diet; and, lastly, that the King should come in person to Pesth, and, in the midst of his people, support and direct the measures of the Diet, and of the Constitutional Government.

At the conclusion of the Address, the Emperor, in a faltering voice, read his reply. He promised to maintain inviolate the laws to which he had sworn, and to preserve the integrity of the country; and excused himself for not sanctioning the bills for raising troops and money now presented to him, on the plea that the manner in which they were voted would not benefit the interests of the country. He also alleged that the delicate state of his health would not allow of his proceeding directly to Hungary, in compliance with the desire of his faithful subjects.

As the Emperor concluded his unsatisfactory reply, the Deputies bowed in silence. Nothing had been stated to throw a shadow of doubt upon the authenticity of the letter to the Ban, and the Hungarians were now made aware that for the four past months they had been the dupes of the Austrian Court. As they quitted the audience chamber, and descended the stairs of the palace, several of the Hungarian body guard, who had that day been in attendance on the King, said to their countrymen, "As soon as we are needed we will come to Hungary;" and as the Deputation stepped upon the steamer which was to convey them from Vienna to Pesth, they mounted the red feather in their hats as a sign of their determination to wage war with Croatia. On their arrival at the Hungarian capital, the red flag waved from the mast of their vessel instead of the tricoloured standard of Hungary.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

September, 1848.

The commencement of the Hungarian Revolution solely to be attributed to Austria—Kossuth desirous to strengthen the country—Jellachich crosses the Drave—Publishes a Manifesto—Conduct of Latour towards the inhabitants of Weisskirchen—Jellachich assisted by Austrian troops—Conduct of his soldiers—Mr. Fonblanque, British Consul-General at Belgrade—The Arch-Duke Francis Charles—Resignation of Batthyanyi and his Colleagues

* For the account of the arrival and departure of the deputation, see the Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady. Vol. i., p. 131.

—The Diet calls upon Kossuth to assume the Dictatorship of the country—The Arch-Duke Stephen acquaints the Deputies with the resignation of Ministers—Debate upon the subject—Advance of Jellachich—Kossuth proposes to complete his financial plan—The Diet determine on levying the troops without waiting for the Royal sanction—Kossuth invited, with Szemere, to undertake the government until the King had appointed the new Cabinet—Batthyanyi seconds this motion—Reasons for the confidence of the nation in Kossuth—Resolution of Kossuth and Szemere—Széchenyi retires—Batthyanyi still trusts that conciliatory measures may save the country—He desires to form a Ministry without Kossuth—Is supported by the Palatine—The position of the Palatine towards his own family.

AUSTRIA, and not Hungary, had commenced a Revolution. As if it were not sufficiently galling to a nation to be subject to the illegal control and interference of a foreign Cabinet; treachery was now added on the part of the monarch. The unhappy influence of one family, which has given to the world, with few exceptions, a succession of unworthy Princes, has destroyed the Constitutional Governments of Spain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Austria; and Belgium, and riveted the most bigoted form of Romanism round their necks: and the intention of the Royal Family that Hungary should form another of the unhappy nations who, by folly or misfortune, had been victims to the ambition of the Hapsburg Dynasty, was now apparent. The revolutionary spirit of 1848 had not yet reached Hungary; the mass of the people had recently obtained rights and privileges which entitled them to be considered free citizens, and contented with that which they had already received, all they and their

Nobles required was, that Hungary should be allowed the free exercise of her ancient Constitutional form of Government, and that a mutual good understanding should subsist between them and their lawful sovereign. With the exception of a small body of men who were dazzled with the splendour of a Court life, the Nobles and the people, Batthyanyi and Kossuth, had one and the same end in view, and the two leaders only differed as to the mode in which it could best be attained. Batthyanyi still hoped and believed in measures of conciliation, while Kossuth foresaw it was only by a display of the power and strength of the country that the Throne, the existing form of Government, and Peace, could be maintained; he was accused by one party of too little, by another of too much, moderation, but he was not to be moved from the path which he deemed right by the timidity of Aristocratic Reformers, or by the violence of factional demagogues.

The very night following the day when the Hungarian deputation returned to Pesth, Jellachich led his army across the Drave, the river which separates Croatia from Hungary. He had published a manifesto in which he stated that he advanced towards Pesth in the interests of freedom and of the United Kingdom. Two Lutheran priests and a school-master of the name of Stur, excited the soldiery by promises of a great Slavonic kingdom, but wide as was their influence in Croatia the Slavonic population of Hungary turned a deaf ear to their exhortations; the Croatian army mustered sixty-five thousand men, and their officers were persuaded that it would be an easy matter to march upon Pesth, and that the Hungarian army of only eight thousand regular troops would either join them or retire before their superior numbers. At Weisskirchen, a town on the southern borders of Hungary, the inhabitants, who, in compliance with the royal commands, considered themselves subject to the decrees

of the Hungarian Cabinet, had been three times attacked by the rebels, and the third time received a summons to surrender from the Imperial Lieutenant-Colonel Mayerhofer, Austrian Consul in Belgrade. Though the inhabitants were all German they refused to comply, repulsed the enemy, and sent a deputation to Latour, the Austrian Minister of War, to request him to inform them how they were expected to act, since while they were obeying the commands of the Hungarian Ministers, Austrian officers, regardless of the law, were leading the rebellious Serbs against them. Latour replied that he lamented the fate of the inhabitants of Weisskirchen, that, in the present time, while the Hungarian Ministers were acting in accordance with the law he could only advise them to wait patiently, and steadily to persevere in the course they had hitherto adopted, and he had no doubt that in a few days, they would be released from their embarrassment. Jellachich had meantime been joined by a detachment of Austrian cuirassiers, and as he advanced, the garrisons of Temesvar and Arad, besides other Austrian corps, joined his army, devastating the country and committing the most horrible cruelties on the Magyar and German population. Such was the barbarous conduct of his soldiers that Mr. Fonblanque, the British Consul-General at Belgrade in Turkish Servia, was obliged to lay a complaint before the Prince of that country of the disgusting spectacle presented in the market-place, by the ear-rings and rings of women offered for sale with the ears and fingers of those to whom they had belonged still attached to them, cut off by the troops and auxiliaries of Jellachich. The stores of arms and ammunition collected by the order of the Hungarian Diet in the fortresses of Esseg and Peterwardein for the purpose of defence had been distributed among the insurgents by the Austrian Commanders of these garrisons.

Before leaving Vienna, Deak had had an audience with

the Arch-Duke Francis Charles, the brother of the Emperor, and the father of his successor on the Austrian throne. He warned him that "the measures of the Viennese Cabinet would for ever estrange Hungary from the Imperial House; and that the intrigues to undermine, and in fact to nullify the laws, which had been constitutionally voted, and solemnly sanctioned by the King, would greatly shake the authority of the Crown." Batthyanyi and his colleagues resigned on their return to Pesth, and on the 11th, Pázmándy officially announced the failure of the deputation in their mission to Vienna. From that hour when the flagrant treachery of the Austrian Court had been exposed, the Diet began to mistrust the conciliatory policy of Batthyanyi, and now with one voice called upon Kossuth. "He alone," they cried, "can save the country, let him be named Dictator." The multitude without re-echoed the words of the Deputies, and the noise and tumult at last became such, that the voices of the speakers within the House could not be heard. Paul Nýary was at length deputed to address the people, and persuade them to wait in patience for the further resolutions of the Diet. The Arch-Duke Stephen, anxious to prevent any occasion of offence to the Imperial family, opposed the motion. In announcing the resignation of the Cabinet to the Diet, he acquainted the Deputies, that he had already sent a new list of Ministers to Vienna, and that until he had received the Royal approbation he intended to take the Government into his own hands. Madarass declared this announcement to be contrary to law, as it wanted the counter-signature of the Ministers themselves, and his proposal to govern alone to be likewise contrary to law, as the country could only be ruled by a responsible Ministry. Kossuth assented to this view of the question, and further demonstrated that the Palatine had unnecessarily adopted this course, since,

though the Cabinet had resigned, Szemere, as Minister of the Interior, retained his office until the appointment of the new Ministry, and therefore without his counter-signature the announcement of the Palatine was null and void.

News meantime arrived of the hourly advance of Jellachich, and that the Hungarian corps of observation was retiring before him. Kossuth proposed that the Diet should authorize him to complete his financial scheme, by which he hoped to provide for the defence of the country, and which, with the rest of the Ministerial Bills, had been unconditionally rejected by the King. His proposition was accepted unanimously, and a declaration made, that "until his Majesty shall sanction the law for opening a credit to meet the wants of the country, the Diet will give permission for the circulation of the five florin notes issued by the Minister of Finance, and as representatives of the nation, guarantee the full nominal value of the notes, upon the revenue derived from the land." They further decreed that the notes should be received in all public banks in place of coin, and as the country could not be left unguarded in a time of danger, they empowered the Ministers to levy the troops granted by the law passed in the Diet, though unconfirmed by the Sovereign. Further it was decreed, that the battalions of Honveds* should receive the word of command in the Hungarian language, and that their standard, uniform, and badges, should all be Hungarian. The extremity of the times justified this act of the Diet, which thus took upon itself to bring a law into force, which was yet unsanctioned by the King. The Diet, as well as the people,

* **Honveds**—defenders of the country. Troops levied for the express purpose of defending the country, and who served solely on the condition of not being employed for any other purpose. They were all infantry and artillery men.

expected that Kossuth would have immediately assumed the Dictatorship, and were disappointed to find that he not only was unambitious of the honour, but that he proposed nothing, but the enforcement of laws, which, though refused by the Sovereign, had become absolutely necessary to supply the exigencies of the country; his calmness and moderation had the immediate effect of tranquillizing the public mind; it checked the violence of the Radicals, and inspired all with hope. The Diet recovered its equilibrium at the very moment, that the ground seemed to be giving way beneath it.

In order to carry out the resolution just voted, Kossuth was unanimously called upon to resume his seat beside Szemere on the Ministerial benches, and Louis Batthyanyi expressed his acquiescence in the general desire. "It is to be hoped," he said, "that no one will suppose that the fear of impending dangers has chased me and my colleagues from the Ministerial benches. Our resignation was only a consequence of our acknowledgment that in the present difficult circumstances, unanimity in action is necessary, and that that unanimity was wanting among us. . . . The irresponsibility of the Viceroy is neither accordant with law, nor required in the present moment. We need a responsible, but united and energetic Government. The general voice has already named the man; therefore, I also say, let us trust in Louis Kossuth; let us confide the Government to him, for at all events it will be guided in a decided direction, and in an hour of danger like the present, any direction is better than none." Kossuth resumed his place on the Ministerial benches, amidst enthusiastic cheers. He was desired by the House to prepare a list of Ministers to act provisionally, until the King, or the Palatine as his Vicegerent, should have definitively settled the Cabinet; and a Deputation was sent to the Palatine to acquaint him that

the Diet considered his recent acts illegal, but at the same time requested his opinion of the measures they had adopted.

Kossuth named as his coadjutors, the Under Secretaries of State of the late Ministers, besides Paul Nyáry, Dionys Pázmándy (the President of the Diet), and Baron Pérenyi, and invited them to a conference the following day, to consult upon the organization of a Provisional Government. While the Deputation were with the Palatine, Kossuth dilated on his financial schemes, and moved that the new battalions of Honveds should, at the conclusion of the war, be considered as belonging to the regular troops, and therefore that the wounded and aged should receive pensions, and the widows and orphans of those who fell should be maintained.

The Diet having named Kossuth head of the Provisional Ministry was not only a mark of particular confidence, but an acknowledgment that his views though opposed to those of most of his colleagues, were correct as to what was necessary for Hungary in the present juncture. He had always urged, that to place the country in a state of defence was the surest guarantee for peace, but he had been obliged to yield to the sanguine hopes and credulity of Batthyányi; his suspicions of the Austrian Cabinet had been fully confirmed, and his energetic endeavours to enforce the laws conceded in March, his opposition to the policy of his Chief, were now all justified; he was even blamed by some, for not having sooner detached himself from his colleagues, and roused the country to a sense of its danger. But it had ever been his principle to ward off rather than invoke the revolutionary spirit; his constant aim, indeed, had been to urge the people to remedy existing grievances by prompt and effective measures, but always to keep within the boundaries of law, and to carry them out steadily, and without violence.

On the 12th of September Kossuth and Szemere proclaimed their resolution to use every means to repel the threatened danger, but to be ready, even at the last hour, to accept any amicable advances made by the enemy. Above all, they admonished the people to refrain from violent demonstrations, such as those of the preceding day, which were unfavourable to true liberty, since the utmost tranquillity was required to allow the ministers to overcome the difficulties which lay before them. Still further, to appease the excitement which prevailed, and to revive the feeling of loyalty towards the Sovereign, all the grievances complained of were imputed to evil advisers about the throne. The proclamation was received with loud cheers, first, for the King, and, secondly, for the liberty and independence of the people.

Batthyanyi alone still nourished hopes of peace and conciliation with Austria. He had entreated Kossuth to continue in the Cabinet, contrary to his own inclinations; yet now, though sincere in his professions of confidence in him while acting as Provisional Minister, he proposed to form a Cabinet from which he should be excluded. He was supported in this view by the Palatine, who desired, if possible, to avoid the collision with his own family to which he would be exposed, should an open rupture take place between the throne and the nation. As a Prince of the blood royal he was naturally disinclined to separate himself from the other members of the House of Hapsburg; while, at the same time, his sincere attachment to Hungary, his liberal views, and his sense of justice made him lean towards the cause of the people. The jealousy between the elder and younger branches of the Royal Family resembled that between the Bourbons and Orleanists of France, and the dislike entertained by the near relatives of the Emperor towards the Arch-Duke Stephen, had been strengthened by his owing

his election as Palatine mainly to the influence of Kossuth, and by many subsequent acts of real patriotism, notwithstanding the letter, which fear, or a desire to regain the esteem of his own family, prompted him in an evil hour to write.* Jellachich had been unreprieved when he ventured to burn the image of the Arch-Duke in the public market-place at Agram; and in addressing him, he now refused him the title of Palatine.

CHAPTER XIX.

September, 1848.

Kossuth and the Palatine—Batthyanyi informs the Diet he has been appointed by the Palatine to form a new Cabinet—Kossuth supports Batthyanyi—The new Cabinet—The Palatine takes the command of the army—Batthyanyi requests the King to order Jellachich to withdraw—The Palatine receives a letter from the King—Jellachich refuses to meet the Palatine—The Palatine resigns, and retires to Germany—Kossuth rouses Hungary to energetic action—New battalions formed—Count Lamberg appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Hungary and Croatia—Pulszky remonstrates with Latour on the illegality of this appointment—Secret Correspondence between Latour and Jellachich—Pulszky endeavours to prevent Lamberg going to Pesth—Batthyanyi at the camp—The Diet declares the appointment of Lamberg illegal—He arrives in Pesth—Is advised to leave the city—Is murdered by the mob—Sensation in the Diet—Letters found on Lamberg—The battle of Sukorö—Jellachich appointed Military Dictator of Hungary—

* See chap. xiii p. 314.

Defeat of the Croats—Death of Count Zichy—Kossuth, Széchenyi, and Batthyányi—Görgey—General Moga.

KOSSUTH was as desirous as Batthyányi or the Palatine, to maintain, if possible, a good understanding with the King; and, while commissioned by the Arch-Duke to express his regret for the illegal step he had been induced to take, he urged upon the members their duty towards him personally. "I maintain," he continued, "that the Arch-Duke Stephen, to whom the nation owes unbounded thanks for his services in the past Diet, merits them equally in the present. I, and all those who, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, are called upon for extraordinary exertions, must bear witness what a hard battle he has to fight. Since we commenced our Ministerial career the Arch-Duke has reposed on no bed of roses; but the firmness with which he has supported our just demands has brought him into collision with his own family. From the great service he has hitherto done our cause, I am of opinion that the future salvation of our country will be rendered impossible, or at least improbable, should any estrangement occur between the Arch-Duke and the Diet; and any thing which would compel us to act independently of him, I should consider the greatest misfortune which could befall Hungary. Convinced as I am, that nothing is so desirable for the country as that the Diet should maintain a good understanding with the Arch-Duke, who is faithful to the rights of the nation, I am also convinced that the throne can only be preserved by the maintenance of these rights and liberties; besides, it is of importance that the present provisional state should not continue, and that we should receive a definitive government. I trust that, whoever may undertake the government, the House will not take umbrage at any slight difference of opinion, but, above all, look to the great end,

the salvation of our country, and therefore not allow the influence of private sympathies or antipathies to prevail. I move that the House appoint a deputation to lay these views before the Palatine, and to demand the termination of our Provisional Government by the powers granted him by the laws of 1848."

The House was preparing to acquiesce in this motion, and to name the deputation, when Louis Batthyányi rose and assured them their wishes had been forestalled, and that he himself had been already commanded by the Palatine to form a new Cabinet. Murmurs of disapprobation from the galleries and the extreme left followed this announcement; but before they had extended further, Kossuth rose to express his satisfaction that the wishes of the Diet had been anticipated, and the more so, as the Palatine had selected a man whose name was identified with the history of Hungarian freedom, as the President of the responsible Ministry; one who, after the Arch-Duke, deserved the most credit for obtaining the concessions of March. This declaration silenced the Radicals with their leaders, Madarass and Perczel, and removed all further obstacles from the Palatine and Batthyányi, who, on the morning of the 13th, announced an unexpected change in the list of Ministers where the names of Kossuth and Szemere did not appear. It consisted of Count Alexander Erdödy, Baron Josef Eötvös, Baron Dionys Kemény, Baron Nicolas Vay, General Meszáros, Coloman Ghiczy, and Maurice Szentkirályi.

At the request of Batthyányi, the Palatine left Pesth to place himself at the head of the Hungarian army against Jellachich, and was enthusiastically received by the troops. A deputation, at the same time, was sent by the Hungarian to the Viennese Diet, proposing that a commission, composed from both Parliaments, should be appointed to settle

the differences between Hungary and Austria. The Slavonic members of the Viennese Diet, however, voted with the Ministerial party, and secured a majority against receiving the deputation, on the ground that as Hungary had constituted itself a separate nation, independent of the Austrian Empire, the deputation must be considered as from a foreign country. As soon as Batthyanyi learnt the result of their mission, he desired Pulszky to acquaint the King, that he could only form a Cabinet on condition that Jellachich should be commanded to withdraw his troops from Hungary, and that all questions relating to Croatia and Hungary should be settled by arbitration. The Arch-Duke Francis Charles answered for the King, that "His Majesty approved of the conduct of the Arch-Duke Stephen in taking the command of the Hungarian troops, and had nothing to object to the names which Count Batthyanyi proposed for his Cabinet; but that all things else should be provided."

But instead of Jellachich being ordered to withdraw his troops, the Arch-Duke Stephen received an autograph letter from the King, commanding him to avoid any collision with the Croatian army advancing upon Pesth. He therefore invited Jellachich to a conference upon the Balaton (Platten See) in view of both armies; the Hungarians being encamped on the north-western bank of the lake, and the Croatian on the south-eastern. The steamer containing the Arch-Duke reached the middle of the lake, and boats were sent to convey Jellachich and his aid-de-camp; but the Ban turned to his officers, and inquired if they gave their consent to his departure, and having, as he expected, received a negative from them, he dismissed the boats to the steamer.

The Palatine, who now despaired of reconciling his duty to his country and to the Imperial House, immediately

resigned the command to General Moga, and hastened to Vienna. He had there an interview with Pulszky, to whom he expressed his deep regret for the fate which he saw impending over Hungary and the Monarchy. He afterwards retired to his estates in Germany, there he has remained ever since in a sort of honourable exile from the Court.

Like the thirsty man in the desert, who eagerly hastens towards the water which others know to be a mere phantom of the brain, so Batthyanyi followed up the futile dreams of his imagination, and clung to the fading hope of a reconciliation with Austria, while still mistrusting the power of Hungary to resist the Croatian army; but Kossuth, in a proclamation eloquent from its patriotic ardour, strove to rouse the sinking hopes of his country, and excite the people to bold and energetic action. He appealed to the eternal decrees of the Almighty power, by whom none are forsaken who do not forsake themselves, and whose divine law a righteous cause must eventually triumph over perjury and injustice; he described the host of Jellachich as great in number, but unsupported by moral rectitude and the enthusiasm of the people; he exhorted the Hungarian nation to fulfil an imperative duty, and rise to a n and crush the enemy who invaded their country; and glowing terms he denounced those who should shrink from performance: lastly, in a call to arms, he hailed the future freedom, happiness, and fame of Hungary in these words: "he who has influence in a County, or even in a village, let him raise his banner: let no music be heard upon our boundless plains, but the solemn strains of the Rákoczy March; let him collect ten, fifty, a hundred, a thousand followers, as many as he can gather, and marshal them the way to Veszprim; * between Veszprim and Weissenburg, the

* Veszprim, on the northern shore of the lake Bálaton, where Jellachich and his forces were at that time stationed.

women shall dig a deep grave, in which we will bury our enemies, or the name, the honour, the nation of Hungary. And on this grave shall stand a monument inscribed with a record of our shame, 'So God punishes cowardice;' or we will plant on it the tree of liberty, eternally green, from out whose foliage shall be heard the voice of God, speaking as from the fiery bush to Moses, 'The spot on which thou standest is holy ground,—thus do I reward the brave. To the Magyars freedom, renown, well-being, happiness.' ”

The appeal was not unanswered. Thousands streamed towards Pesth, to enlist in the Hungarian army; new battalions were formed, and volunteers poured in even from Vienna, where enlistments took place for Hungary under the very eyes of the Austrian Ministers. No attempt was made to put a stop to these proceedings, for it was to them a matter of indifference how many Hungarians and Croats fought and fell, as long as the cause of Austrian despotism progressed; but it was not their intention that they should decide their quarrel on the field of battle: a victory, even if gained by Jellachich, would have been disadvantageous to
ria, by rendering matters desperate between her and
ngary; it was therefore of importance that this should
prevented.

An attempt of the Austrian Ministers to make all the commanders of the Hungarian garrisons submit to Jellachich had failed; the commander of the garrison of Komorn had refused to surrender to the Ban in spite of an express order to that effect which he had received from Latour. He replied; “that the King conveyed his legal orders by the Hungarian Ministers, and therefore he could not accept orders from his Majesty's Austrian Ministers.” The present circumstances of the country therefore seemed calculated to end the predatory and savage mode of warfare

hitherto waged by the Croats, in a regular battle between the Hungarian and Croatian armies; and the Viennese Cabinet determined to prevent this untoward event, by appointing Count Lamberg, commander-in-chief of all the troops in Hungary, whether Croatian or Hungarian, and thus unite the garrisoned towns, as well as the two armies, under one head; he was further empowered to dissolve the Diet, if he considered it necessary. The Court and the Austrian War Department believed that by this arrangement they could best attain their object, of substituting a centralized government for the lawful independence of Hungary.

No sooner did Pulszky hear of this decision than he hastened to Latour, and represented to him that the act was in law null and void, without the counter-signature of the Hungarian Prime Minister, that in its present form it would not be respected by the Hungarian people, and that should Lamberg be instrumental in such an act, he would render himself amenable to the charge of high treason, for having ventured to assume the highest authority in the State, in direct violation of the laws. Latour replied angrily, that "General Lamberg was provided with all he required, and that the counter-signature was perfectly unnecessary." Letters which had passed between Latour and others connected with the Austrian Ministers and Jellachich were at this time intercepted, and gave a plain evidence of the understanding which existed between them; Pulszky immediately published the treasonable correspondence at his own risk, and hundreds of copies were circulated in Vienna itself. In them the officers of Jellachich avowed their intention, after destroying Pesth, to advance upon Vienna, chastise the University, and deliver the Emperor from thralldom; the sensation these letters occasioned was the greater, since Latour had just before pledged his word

of honour to the Viennese Diet, that he had had no official communications with Jellachich.

Meantime Pulszky, anxious to save Lamberg from the risk he must incur, if he executed the commands of the Austrian Ministers, commissioned a personal friend to follow him to Presburg, and endeavour to persuade him not to proceed further; he also despatched a courier to Batthyanyi, who fully expected that Lamberg would in the first instance join the Hungarian camp, and had therefore hastened thither himself on the 27th of September, resolved to countersign his appointment, and thus prevent the possibility of the disasters which he feared might otherwise result. He left the Committee of Defence in Pesth, presided over by Kossuth, whom the Diet had appointed to assist the Ministers in regulating the disposition of the troops raised for the protection of the country. On the evening of the 27th the Diet met, and declared the appointment of Lamberg to be illegal, until it had received the counter-signature of Batthyanyi.

Contrary to all expectation, Lamberg, instead of joining the camp, arrived at Pesth and hastened to the Chief Justice, Mailáth, whom he found confined to bed from indisposition. His son immediately acquainted the General with the excitement which raged in the town against him, and advised his instantly leaving Pesth for the army, offering at the same time to conduct him by a private way to avoid observation. Lamberg ridiculed these precautions, and entering a public carriage, set out for Buda. A report meantime had gained ground, that he had come to Pesth with the intention of taking possession of the citadel of Buda, and of garrisoning it with the Austrian troops which had just been dislodged on account of suspicions being entertained of their loyalty towards the Hungarian Government, and National Guards put in their stead. The Diet

was sitting, and Kossuth was enlarging upon his schemes for the defences of the country, when rumours reached the House of a tumult in the streets. Bálogh hastened down, and when he heard the cry that the citadel of Buda was threatened, placed himself at the head of a band of volunteers, and marched thither to secure the gates. The multitude followed, armed with scythes, but when they saw Bálogh take quiet possession, they began to disperse. Unfortunately, just as they reached the bridge of boats connecting Buda with Pesth, they met Lamberg driving towards the citadel; he was immediately recognised, dragged from the carriage, and the next instant two young men, one a German student, and the other a Hungarian from Transylvania, put an end to his life. In his pockets papers are reported to have been found, containing an order to seize upon the citadel of Buda, and to proclaim martial law; the infuriated mob dragged his body through the streets, and believed his assassination to be a patriotic deed. The news of the murder struck horror through the Diet; an immediate inquest was ordered upon the body, and a search made for the murderers, but they had already effected their escape. A courier was despatched to Batthyanyi, and the following day Kossuth moved an address to the King expressive of the grief of the Hungarian Diet at what had occurred, and entreating his Majesty to put a stop to those illegal proceedings on the part of the Austrian Ministers which had led to so dreadful a result.

Independent of the crime which appeared to sully the greatness of their cause, the Hungarian Diet felt the murder of Lamberg to be a political misfortune. He was much beloved by the troops, and no one could tell what consequences might follow in the army. With the news Batthyanyi also received three autograph letters from the King, which had been found on the person of Lamberg,

by one of which he himself was commanded to countersign his appointment; by a second, George Mailáth was made Statholder of Hungary; and by the third, Lamberg was authorised to dissolve the Diet. Batthyanyi, hopeless for his country, and feeling himself incapable of disentangling or even breaking through the web of treachery and despotism which Austria was weaving around her, immediately resigned his place as Minister, and hastened to Vienna.

The effect upon the troops of the murder of Lamberg was not such as had been feared. They were burning with impatience to encounter the enemy, and had no place left for other feelings. On the morning of the 29th, Jellachich received the first fire of the cannon of the Hungarian army. It was the commencement of the decisive battle of Pakozd or Sukorö, in which the Ban was repulsed, and his Croats fled in confusion. General Moga, however, did not follow up his victory, but granted the enemy an armistice of three days. Jellachich took advantage of this to retire in the night, and reached Raab, where he expected reinforcements from Latour. On the 3rd, 5,000 Croats, under the command of the Austrian Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, were attacked and routed by a body of National Guards, led by the Deputy Joseph Vidos: the same day a Royal Message was conveyed to Jellachich, proclaiming a suspension of the Hungarian institutions, and appointing him Military Dictator of Hungary. On the 5th, a body of 12,000 Croats, under Generals Roth and Phillipovich, were obliged to surrender to Perczel, Csápo, and Görgey. Perczel conducted the affair, and it was considered a brilliant action to have been executed by a raw levy of troops, as sixty officers were captured, besides twelve cannon, seven standards, and eleven thousand muskets. Only a few days previously, Görgey, whose name now became first known in Hungary,

and who commanded a body of Hungarian troops, had received as prisoners Counts Eugene and Paul Zichy, who had been seized by their own peasantry, and charged with carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the enemy.

Count Eugene had been appointed Royal Administrator by Jellachich, who had entered with him the city of Stuhl Weissenburg, and after a trial before a court martial, his guilt having been fully proved, he was condemned and forthwith hung by the verdict of Görgey, while Count Paul Zichy was discharged and sent to Pesth.

Hitherto Kossuth had had to contend against time-rooted prejudices, and the interested views of men who had been set apart from their fellow citizens by aristocratic privileges. Many of those whom he had opposed, Széchenyi and Batthyanyi, among others, were gradually approximating to his opinions. Whatever might have been their errors of judgment or of character, they might be excused their incapacity to see truths, hidden under the veil of plausibility and sophistry. Batthyanyi had retired in disgust and sorrow, and Széchenyi, soon after the invasion of Jellachich and the dissolution of the Ministry, had left Pesth for his house in the country, where he arranged his affairs, and proceeding to Vienna, placed himself as a patient in a lunatic asylum in the vicinity of the Austrian Capital; there to mourn over the futility of his schemes, and to lament that he had not sooner learnt wisdom of Kossuth.

A spirit of a different order was now rising into antagonism with the Hungarian patriot. There was no sympathy for the human race in the heart of Arthur Görgey, no generous aspirations for the good of mankind. Batthyanyi and Széchenyi had been like men walking in the pure but dim atmosphere of the early dawn; they could not yet bear the day, but they had left the night far behind them; Görgey and Kossuth were opposite as darkness and light,

and therefore it is not to be wondered at if such men found it hard to comprehend one another.

Arthur Görgey had commenced his career in the Austrian army, which he had abandoned for the pursuit of chemistry. He joined the Hungarian army in the spring of 1848, when he was appointed Captain of a battalion of Honveds. Kossuth, who had long discerned his great natural abilities and administrative capacity, had been asked by an influential member of the Diet to appoint him engineer to the Mint, but refused, on the ground that before a year expired Görgey would probably be required as Minister of War. He was soon afterwards employed by the Government to purchase military stores, and to superintend the erection of powder magazines. He also assisted to organize the National Guard, for whom, however, as well as for the corps of Volunteers, Honveds, and Militia, he always professed extreme contempt. Endowed with personal attractions, brilliant talents, and a certain fascination of manner, he gained considerable influence over those immediately surrounding him. His nature was, however, cold, cynical, envious, and ambitious. He was one of those unhappy men who look upon all things through the discoloured medium of self, and in whom, therefore, superiority in others awakened hatred in place of love. About the end of September he was commanded to occupy the island of Csepel, south of Pesth, and in the commencement of October, to co-operate with Csapó and Perczel against Jellachich. The honest though impetuous and hot-headed Perczel could not well assort with the cold nature of Görgey, and they had not been many days together before serious disagreements took place. Neither Kossuth nor the Government were wholly deceived as to the dangerous character of Görgey; but in times replete with difficulties, and when the army, on whom so much depended, was almost entirely commanded

by Austrian officers of untried fidelity, it was of importance to secure the services of one who had already compromised himself with the Austrian Government as Görgey had done, by the execution of Zichy.

- Meantime Jellachich hovered in the neighbourhood of Presburg, slowly retreating before Moga, who as slowly pursued, as if unwilling again to encounter the enemy he had so signally defeated. But Moga was an Austrian officer, and, besides, a man of a weak, vacillating character, who owed his high position solely to accident, and to the favour of the Arch-Duke Stephen.

CHAPTER XX.

October, November; 1848.

Baron Recsey, Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs — Feeling towards Hungary in Vienna — Conduct of Pulszky, and the Hungarian Councillors of State — Commencement of the Viennese Revolution — Murder of Latour — Batthyanyi and Pulszky together join the Hungarian Army — Hungarian Army on the frontiers of Austria — Resignation of Baron Recsey — Jellachich and Auersperg prepare to blockade Vienna — Pulszky sent to Vienna — Conduct of the Viennese — Prince Windischgratz assumes the command of the Austrian Army — Kossuth joins the Hungarian Army at Parendorf — Addresses the troops — A herald is sent to Windischgratz — Is detained — Council of War of the Hungarian Army — General Moga — Kossuth —

Görgey—The Hungarian Army crosses the frontiers — Battle of Schwechat — Retreat and flight of the Hungarian Army — Windischgratz and Jellachich enter Vienna — Execution of Blum — Jelovicki, Sternau, Becker, Jellinek, Messenhauser, &c. •

AFTER the murder of Lamberg, and the resignation of Batthyanyi, the King appointed Baron Vay, one of his late ministers, to the office of Premier, and a few days later named an old soldier, Baron Adam Recsey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on condition of his consenting to Jellachich being nominated Military Dictator of Hungary. He also countersigned the ordinance by which the Diet was dissolved, its decrees annulled, the civil laws suspended, and the country placed in a state of siege. No sooner did Batthyanyi hear of this transaction than he hastened to Recsey, and in the presence of several witnesses bitterly reproached him for his conduct.

In the meantime the Diet refused obedience to the royal ordinance, because it was in direct violation of the Constitution, by which the Diet can neither be closed nor dissolved before the vote of the budget. They declared their intention of continuing their sittings, denounced Jellachich as a traitor to the country, and decreed that Baron Recsey should be brought to trial upon the charge of having assisted at an act contrary to law. In order to provide a government, before a ministry could be appointed, the Diet confided the executive power to the Committee of Defence which had already been formed under Batthyanyi, and of which Kosuth was named President.

Since March, the sympathy for Hungary had declined in Vienna, owing to the influence of newspaper writers and speakers in public meetings, some of whom advocated exclusive Germanism, and desired to see Hungary, like

Posen, only a part of the great united German Empire, and some of whom objected to the Hungarians, that they had not at once abolished the House of Magnates. Both these parties belonged to the Democrats; but the Sclavonians, who mustered no inconsiderable number in the Diet, and were all friendly to Jellachich, were the bitterest opponents of the Hungarian cause, and Dr. Bach, the Minister of the Interior, who had been a strong radical in March, now professed absolutist doctrines. The Hungarian deputations, which had visited Vienna in September, had, however, turned the popular tide in favour of Hungary, although the newspapers continued their violent animadversions against Batthyanyi and Kossuth until they at last became so personal that the Hungarian ministers were obliged to indict some of them for libel.

On the 4th October, rumours reached Austria of the battle of Pakozd, and reports of other defeats of the Croats followed. The Hungarians in Vienna were convinced that their countrymen would never submit to the military dictatorship of Jellachich, and Pulszky with other Councillors of state, met to consult as to the line of conduct they ought to prescribe to themselves. They came to the conclusion that it was their duty, as civil officers, to remain at their posts, and they acquainted Batthyanyi with their resolution, which he entirely approved. He himself proposed to start for Paris, and endeavour to excite an interest in Europe for the cause of Hungary; that evening therefore he left Vienna for Edenburg, to bid farewell to his family. A few hours later, Pulszky received an autograph letter from the King, accepting his resignation, which he had never tendered.

A report was spread in Vienna that the Ministers proposed to dissolve the Academic legion, re-organize the National Guards, and declare the city in a state of siege; Jellachich was expected immediately to march from Raab upon

the Austrian capital, and the proclamation which placed Hungary under Martial Law, was considered to be only a precedent to the dissolution of the Austrian Constituent Assembly. Without acquainting the Diet with their intentions, the Ministers ordered the German battalion, which had always shown sympathy with the people, to be in preparation to march to the support of Jellachich, while the Sclavonic battalions, within the city, were ordered to be reinforced. On the 6th, when the troops arrived at the railroad by which they were to be conveyed to Raab, the people interfered, and the soldiers themselves showed unwillingness to be employed against Hungary. Another detachment of troops was summoned, and ordered to fire upon the people who refused to disperse. Several fell, and the fire was returned with effect, the General, commanding the troops, being killed upon the spot. The soldiers were obliged to retreat, with the loss of one cannon. When the news of the disturbance reached the city, Pulszky, who was preparing to leave Vienna, hastened to offer himself as a mediator between the Court and the Hungarian nation, provided the Ministers would consent to resign their intention of sending aid to Jellachich. By this time, however, all Vienna was in an uproar; the alarm bell was tolling, barricades were rising in the streets, and the cannon had already begun their work. The palace of the Minister of War, Latour, was surrounded by the enraged multitude; his treachery and duplicity, his treasonable acts against the laws of the country, finally, his having ventured to take upon himself to send troops against a sister nation, and the disorders and deaths it had already occasioned, filled up the measure of his iniquity, and of the people's indignation. He was persuaded by his friends to address them from the balcony of his palace, and to assure them that the order to the troops should be withdrawn; but it was too late; in

attempting afterwards to effect his escape by a back door, he was recognized, seized, and barbarously murdered by the enraged populace. The town was, in a few hours, in the hands of the people; the Viennese revolution was accomplished, and no further acts of violence followed. The Diet, which had taken no part in the émeute, sent a deputation to the Emperor at Schönbrunn, to request an amnesty for the offenders, the appointment of a popular Ministry, and a recall of the decree by which Jellachich had been named Military Dictator of Hungary; finally, that his Majesty would return to the imperial palace in Vienna. As the Minister, Kraus, the ex-Minister, Pillersdorf, and the expected Minister, Count Stadion, had remained in Vienna, and had retained their places in the Diet during the disturbance, it was hoped the Emperor would listen to the address. His Majesty promised everything, but fled that night to Olmütz. On the 6th, Pulszky had left Vienna for Soprony, where he found Batthyanyi, and they resolved together to join the nearest division of the Hungarian army, as volunteers. The first they met, was that of Vidos, which consisted of a few raw recruits, as the band of volunteers with which he had already defeated the Croats, had only bound themselves to a service of eight weeks, and were now dispersed. In order to facilitate his movements, Jellachich had dismissed 18,000 of his soldiers, who were on the sick list, and were now passing through the country in which Vidos was quartered, on their way to Croatia or Styria. Bad as was their condition, they might still, from their numbers, be formidable to the little band which remained with Vidos, and Pulszky hastened on with this intelligence to Pesth. The news of the Viennese revolution had just reached the Committee of Defence who, unwilling to identify it with the cause of Hungary, were resolved to use the utmost caution in their proceedings. A courier had been

sent from Vienna to apprise Jellachich of the outbreak, and he immediately abandoned Raab, where he had arrived on his way to Pesth, and advanced to Ebersdorf, within two hours' march of the Austrian capital. The Hungarian army in pursuit of him had just arrived on the frontiers, when they received an order from Pesth to halt. General Moga was commanded to request the Austrian General, Auersperg, to disarm the Ban as a rebel to the King of Hungary, but in case of refusal, to pursue Jellachich across the frontiers, although, even then, not until he had received permission from the Austrian Government. Pulszky was sent to Vienna to express the gratitude of the Hungarian nation to the Viennese, for their successful efforts to prevent reinforcements being sent to the traitor Jellachich, and to declare that if the Hungarian troops were obliged to enter Austria in pursuit of him, they had no intention to violate the Austrian territory, and that the maintenance of their army, while in Austria, should devolve upon themselves. The Viennese Diet in the meantime sent to Jellachich to demand his reason for approaching the city, and commanded him to retire. They found him in a miserable condition, surrounded by about 2000 ragged soldiers, worn out and dispirited with forced marches and fatigue; it was some days before he was joined by the rest of his army.

The delay of the Hungarians on the frontiers was not approved of by Kossuth, who, had he been alone consulted, would have ordered General Moga at once to lead the army to the attack of Jellachich. Had his opinion been followed, the probable result would have been the final defeat of the Ban. General Auersperg would not have rendered him any assistance, as he had withdrawn his troops from Vienna on the 8th, and had taken up a strong position under the protection of ten batteries; though, at that time, Auersperg could have been dislodged, or starved into sub-

mission, if the Viennese had been fortunate enough to possess an energetic leader, the people supplied his troops with provisions, and he, in return, amused them with negotiations.

* Baron Recsey now sent in his resignation to the Emperor at Olmütz, and expressed his contrition for having consented to the appointments of Jellachich. The Ban and Auersperg were preparing to blockade Vienna, and Pulszky on his arrival found the leaders of the Constituent Assembly timid, vacillating, and afraid lest they should transgress the boundaries of existing laws; though daring to assert their independence, they did not possess the courage necessary to encounter the difficulties which they had brought upon themselves. They were men of sufficient boldness to meet the first burst of the tempest conjured up by the adherents of despotism, but without that moral courage which could alone enable them to steer the vessel of the State into a safe harbour. They replied to the offers of assistance from Hungary brought by Pulszky, that, as representatives of the whole Empire, they could not lawfully accept the aid of the Hungarians as a separate power, and referred him to the Municipal Council. Neither Assembly entirely approved of the Revolution. Stadion and other Conservatives were members of the former, and they vacillated between the Court and the people. Pulszky was therefore sent by the Municipal Council to Messenhauser, whom they had appointed to the command of the National Guards for the defence of the town. Messenhauser assured him he himself could not rely on many of his own officers, who would probably report all that passed to Jellachich and Auersperg. On Pulszky demanding a supply of arms from the arsenal for the Hungarians, this was also refused, on the plea that it might create suspicions, and he was not even permitted to take the muskets purchased by the Hungarian Ministers in

Belgium, which had been detained in the Custom House at Vienna. General Bem at this time arrived in the Capital, with the intention of proceeding to Hungary, but was requested to remain and undertake the defence of Vienna. He proposed, in the first place, to establish an intelligence with the commander of the Hungarian army; but Pulszky, after all he had witnessed, thought it wiser to decline giving any promises; and after advising an appeal to the Central Power at Frankfort, left Vienna.

On the 17th of October, Robert Blum and others, from the Frankfort Parliament, arrived. Prince Windischgratz had now assumed the command of the troops blockading the town, and he commenced by issuing a Manifesto, in which he declared his own appointment to the Civil and Military power over the whole Monarchy. Meantime Pulszky reached Pesth, and acquainted Kossuth with the state of affairs, who immediately despatched a letter to Bem, which, however, never reached its destination. It was intercepted and suppressed by Messenhauser, who still hoped for a reconciliation with the Court, and therefore wished to prevent a communication being established between Vienna and Pesth, which, no doubt, would have taken place had Bem received the letter of Kossuth. The Viennese Diet had been continually urged to call in the Hungarians, and had as continually refused, on the plea that they had already done enough in protesting against the invasion of Jellachich, but could not invite the Hungarians to cross the frontiers. They declared at the same time they did not forbid them, and they passed a resolution by which, without inviting the troops, they implied that it would not be considered an hostile act if they should enter Austria; thus, though too timid to take upon themselves the responsibility, they allowed their wishes to be inferred, and the Viennese people even reproached the Hungarians

with their delay to fulfil, what they termed, a debt of gratitude.

The great object the Committee of Defence had in view, was to ascertain in the Hungarian army itself, who were for or against them. It had always been the policy of the Austrian Government, to place Austrian or Italian officers in command of the army in Hungary, and Hungarian officers in command of the army in Italy. The exchange which had been demanded by the Ministers in March had been slowly progressing, and in the present crisis, it was impossible at once to dismiss all the Austrian officers whose places could not be readily supplied. Kossuth placed himself at the head of 12,000 troops which he had assembled in Pesth, and joined the army at Parensdorf, where he read the manifesto of Windischgratz to the officers and men, and then addressing them, declared all who pleased were free to leave the Hungarian army. "Magyars," he said, extending his hand, "there is the road to your peaceful homes and firesides. Yonder is the path to death, but it is the path of duty. Which will you take? Every man shall choose for himself. We want none but willing soldiers." The great body of the army replied by shouting with one voice, "Liberty, or death."

About one hundred officers, most of them foreigners, left the army, after giving their word not to serve against Hungary for six months. Colonel Ivanka, a young and distinguished officer, was sent to Windischgratz, to summon him to refrain from bombarding Vienna. It was his own wish to undertake the office, and the character of a herald was considered too sacred to allow him to entertain any fears for the consequences.

Windischgratz received him graciously, but delivered him over to Jellachich, who immediately arrested him, and sent his comrade back alone, to bear the intelligence of the ill

success of their mission. On the 27th a Council of war was held, at which Kossuth presided. The bombardment of Vienna had already commenced, and the Members of the Council were startled by the distant sound of the cannon. General Moga, supported by Kolman, the chief officer on his staff, and the President of the Diet, Pázmány, proposed they should withdraw the Hungarian army, and leave Vienna to its fate, or turn their arms against the Austrian General, Simonich, who had already entered Hungary by Galicia, and was inciting the Slavonic population to rebellion. Kossuth was of a contrary opinion. He urged that they should at once march to the assistance of the Viennese. Their sufferings had commenced by an attempt of the people to frustrate the designs of the Austrian Ministers against Hungary, and he considered it not only a wiser policy to assist the rescue of their capital, but a moral obligation. Whether victory or defeat should be the consequence, it was besides absolutely necessary to ascertain which among the officers of the Hungarian army were disinclined to the cause. The disaffected were demoralizing the troops, and an encounter with the enemy, or the very fact of crossing the Austrian frontiers, would be the surest test of their fidelity. There could be no longer any doubt of the legality of the act, as by the acknowledged laws of war, when the Austrians refused to disarm Jellachich themselves, the Hungarians were justified to enter their country in the pursuit of an enemy. General Moga remarked upon the imprudence of the measure, and represented the undisciplined state of the army, &c. His observations were received in silence. Colonel Görgey spoke next. Until the hour that Kossuth arrived at Parendorf, Görgey had been eager for the advance of the troops to the attack of the enemy; he had been continually asking why they did not cross the frontiers, but always added that the command ought to be

made over to a trustworthy officer, one who was aware that his life depended on victory, and that if he fell into the hands of the Austrians certain death awaited him. By this officer all knew Görgey meant himself, as it was generally believed, that if taken prisoner, he would be hung for the execution of Zichy. In the Council of war, however, or rather towards its conclusion, he seemed suddenly to have changed his opinion, and seconded the motion of the General. The speech of Kossuth had however decided the matter, and on the 28th the Hungarian army crossed the frontiers. It consisted of 80,000 men, 10,000 of whom were raw troops, and 5,000 mere peasants armed with scythes. They were advancing to the attack of twice their numbers, conducted by Windischgratz and Jellachich. In spite of their inferiority to the enemy, the fortunes of the gallantly-fought battle of Schwechat, and those of Austria and Hungary, might have been very different had the Viennese seconded the exertions of the Hungarians, or held out for two or three days longer. Under leaders such as Kossuth, Batthyanyi, Bem, Blum, and a noble list of statesmen and generals, constitutional rights and liberty might have been conquered and maintained. Alas! for the vacillations of a people unaccustomed to self-government and new to freedom!

The enemy's troops were stationed at Männswörth, Schwechat, and Kaiser Ebersdorf. The Hungarians kindled a large signal fire on a hill, which could be seen from the spire of St. Stephen's church in the city, to warn the Viennese of their approach: Kossuth and the General, with the officers composing the staff, bivouacked for the night in a neighbouring forest.

The Austrians commenced the attack on the following morning, the 29th, under the cover of a thick fog, which gradually dispersed, and at ten Major Guyon, a young Irishman, who had quitted the Austrian service to enter that

of Hungary, charged with the advance guard of the right wing, and gained possession of Männswörth. This gallant action would have been followed up by Görgey, who was advancing upon Schwechat with the main body of the right wing, but he received orders from the General not to proceed further. His troops, which were partly composed of peasants with their scythes, volunteers and national guards, had therefore to remain stationary during four hours, to stand the fire of the Austrians without being permitted to return a shot, and to see the enemy gradually reinforcing a post which could have been instantly carried, if the attack had not been forbidden. The left wing still hung in the rear, and the reason alleged by the General for the delay of the attack on Schwechat was, that if the right wing had advanced, the distance would have been too great between it and the left. Meantime not a shot was fired from Vienna, nor an attempt made to sally. That morning the municipal authorities had determined to surrender to Windischgratz, but sent no notice of their intentions to the Hungarian army. The people, the National Guards, and those who had hitherto maintained Vienna against the army were indignant at the mention of capitulation, and all was confusion within the city.

Görgey, chafing under a restraint which he foresaw would ruin the fortunes of the day, hastened to head quarters, and demanded counter orders from the General. Moga refused, and a hot altercation ensued, which ended in Görgey returning disappointed to his troops. Kossuth had been a silent spectator of the scene, but when an hour later Moga gave the order for a general retreat, he ventured to remonstrate, for though he considered he had no right as a civil authority to interfere with the details of the battle, he could not allow of its termination in such a manner, when success had hitherto been entirely on the side of the Hungarians.

When his remonstrance proved unavailing, he turned to an officer present, and desired him to hasten to General Görgey, and demand his immediate presence. Moga acknowledged his treacherous designs when some time later, he had to undergo his trial before an Austrian court martial for having led the Hungarians against Windischgratz, and pleaded in his defence; "I gave the army, bound hand and foot, into the power of Prince Windischgratz, and he had not sufficient wit or courage to take advantage of it."

Before Kossuth's message could reach Görgey, a couple of rockets falling into the midst of the band of peasants, who had hitherto so bravely endured the fire of the enemy during four hours, struck such a panic that it threw the right wing into confusion. The volunteers and National Guards gave way, and the retreat was soon converted into a general flight. Happily, the Austrians were also retreating, so that unaware of the advantage offered them, they did not pursue the Hungarians. Pulszky, who had remained beside General Moga the whole day, brought up the rear of the right wing, whose retreat was covered by the skill and conduct of the commanders, Colonels Karger and Ryrffy. The total loss of the day only consisted of two hundred Hungarians and four hundred Austrians. General Moga immediately resigned his command, and many of those officers who were exclusively Austrian in their feelings quitted the army.

Kossuth was aware of the injurious effect this retreat might have on the country, as well as on the army; and, therefore, as President of the Committee of Defence, he resolved to retrieve it by sending Guyon, who had been promoted to a colonelcy, to encounter the Austrian General Simonich at Tyrnau (Nagy Szombath), but he had already retreated into Moravia. Beni, who had escaped in disguise from Vienna now joined Kossuth; he found him confined to

his room with indisposition; but sickness, never seemed to interfere with the performance of any duty; he sent Bem to await further orders at Pesth, and appointed Görgey to the command of the army of the Upper Danube, with a special charge to re-organise the troops. Görgey was the man best fitted to execute this trust, from his habits of strict discipline acquired in the Austrian army, and because being a thorough soldier by nature, he valued above all things perfection in the machinery of an army.

On the 30th October and on the 2nd November, Windischgratz and Jellachich with their troops, Austrian and Croats, successively entered Vienna. Schwarzenberg adjourned the Diet to Kremsier till the 15th November. On the 9th, the city was startled and horrified by the commencement of the executions which have for ever sullied the name of Windischgratz. One of the suburbs having resisted the entrance of the troops afforded a pretext for placing the city in a state of siege. The cold blooded murder of Blum, who died a martyr for the cause of the people, spread a sensation of terror throughout Vienna; Jelovicki, a Pole, perished in the place of Bem, who had escaped; Baron Sternau was shot to serve as an example to the other officers of the National Guards. Doctor Becker, the editor of a newspaper, perished as a warning to the press. Doctor Jellinek, a young Jew, died because the Jews were generally counted among the Radicals; a workman and a Hungarian shared the same fate, as representatives of a class and of a country. Messenhauser, who had accepted the command of the National Guards only in compliance with the orders of the Municipal Council ratified by the Austrian Diet, was hurried to death, because it was feared a pardon might arrive for him from Olmütz. Having thus satiated his present vengeance for the resistance made to his arms by the Viennese, Windischgratz awaited further orders from the Austrian ministers.

CHAPTER XXI.

November, January 1848—1849.

Letter of the Catholic Bishops to the King—Pastoral Address to the People—Transylvania—Revolt of the Wallacks—The Austrian armies advance upon Hungary—Russian army in Moldavia—Batthyanyi—His letter to Kossuth—Görgey organizes the army of the Upper Danube—Bem in Transylvania—Charles Albert abandons Milan—Kossuth calls a Council of War—Victories of the Austrians in the North of Hungary—Kossuth tries negotiation—Abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand—The Emperor, Francis Joseph, not lawfully King of Hungary—He denounces Kossuth and the Committee of Defence as outlaws—Repeals the laws of March—Austrian Ministers appointed by Francis Joseph—Pulsky sent to Görgey—Guyon—Perczel—Defeat of Perczel—Alarm in Pesth—Görgey disobeys the instructions of the Committee of Defence—Kossuth fails in his endeavours to induce England to mediate between Hungary and Austria—Pulsky leaves Pesth for London—Batthyanyi leads the Deputation from the Diet to Windischgratz—Is thrown into prison—Kossuth calls a Council of War—Görgey is ordered to march northwards—The Government leave Pesth for Debreczin, and take with them the Crown of St. Stephen.

THE Catholic Prelates of Hungary now addressed a letter of remonstrance to the King, representing the miserable state of the country, and the sincere desire of the people for the maintenance of law and order; they reminded

his Majesty of his coronation oath, and prayed him to return to the path of justice, and restore peace and happiness to Hungary. Their petition was ungraciously received, and they therefore next addressed a pastoral letter to the people, in which they lamented the calamities which had befallen Hungary, exhorted them to obey the legal authorities, charged them with the defence of the country, and entreated them to abstain from all violation of the laws, and to place their trust in an Almighty Power.

The Prelates who had ever been the supporters of despotism and aristocratic privilege, now found that, in the hour of trouble and danger, the Court turned a deaf ear to their admonitions; happy would it have been for Hungary if in years gone by they had acted as Christian and patriotic a part!

During this summer, so eventful for Hungary, Transylvania had not been inactive. The Diet there had met in May, and while the Magyars and Szeklers had evinced their eagerness to concede the same privileges to the Transylvanian people, which had already been granted by the Hungarian Diet, they were opposed by the Saxon population, who allowed themselves to be made the dupes and tools of Austrian intrigues. The Wallacks also (by far the most numerous, though the poorest and most miserable inhabitants of the country) considered themselves aggrieved, because the franchise (comprehensive as it was) required a certain property qualification; and they therefore demanded to be treated as a distinct nation in Transylvania. The agents of Austria were not slow to take advantage of this state of things; they fomented the spirit of discontent until 3,000 Wallack peasants assembled for the purpose of sending a deputation to the Emperor, praying for an acknowledgment of their separate nationality: the ignorant people were deceived into a belief; that when the Transylvanian Diet unanimously

voted for the union of Transylvania with Hungary, the act dethroned their Emperor, and converted them into slaves of the King of Hungary. Isolated cases of violence followed, and it became at last necessary to employ military force to disperse the rioters; but Austrian agents and semi-barbarous leaders were still actively at work, exciting the minds of the people, and on the 16th of September General Puchner issued a proclamation releasing the civil officers from their oath to the Hungarian Constitution. Though endeavouring thus to sever the tie between the two countries, and to unite Transylvania to the Austrian empire, he could not foresee the dreadful consequences of his proclamation. On the 18th of October the Wallacks suddenly broke into open insurrection in all parts of the country, but especially in the mountain districts of Zalatnya. Horrible massacres were perpetrated in cold blood on the respectable inhabitants, or those who were in the enjoyment of wealth and influence. Some were beaten to death with cudgels, some tortured with pitchforks, some thrown into pits, and others crucified on their own doors.

Such was the state of Transylvania at the time of the battle of Schwechat: Puchner, Wayden, and Urban, were there in command. Windischgratz, with 75,000 men encamped near Vienna, threatened Presburg and Cedenburg, Simonich was on the Moravian frontier with an army of 12,000 men, Schlick advancing from Galicia through the mountainous passes of the north with 15,000, and Generals Nugent and Dahlen supported by the insurgent Wallacks, Saxons, and Serbs, hung on the borders of Croatia, while the fortresses of Arad, Temesvar, and Esseg, were in the hands of the Austrians. Hungary was almost destitute of arms and ammunition, and the necessary quantity of linen and cloth for the supply of the army was neither manufactured at home, nor could be imported from abroad:

lastly, the Russian army in Moldavia was ready at a signal from Austria to descend upon Hungary: this fact was announced by Sir Stratford Canning in a letter to Lord Palmerston on the 7th of November, but the information of a threatened invasion of Hungary by the two despotic Powers appears to have been regarded by England with indifference.

Batthyanyi, who had been prevented by a fall from his horse, from taking any active part in the preparations for the defence of his country, was reproached by many both in Hungary and Vienna, for the manner in which he had conducted himself when Minister, and especially for having quitted his post in a critical moment. Wounded by these accusations, he wrote in November an explanatory letter, which he addressed to Kossuth, who had never failed to do full justice to his intentions as well as to his actions. It is needless to give this letter at length, as the information it contains has already been imparted; a few extracts may, however, be interesting to the reader.

“DEAR FRIEND,

“During six months full of difficulties I have been exhausted by the cares of public life. My first feeling on withdrawing from the Government was one of bitterness. What can be more bitter to a true patriot than to be accused of duplicity towards his country, at a time when it is surrounded by intrigues and endangered by manifold treasons? It does not distress me that some should disapprove of my line of policy; but no one shall accuse me of having abused my influence to endanger the independence of my country. My whole life—an open book from the commencement of my public career—ought to silence every suspicion; but as my last visit to Vienna has occasioned me to be suspected, I will simply state the reason of it. You, dear friend, know

well that I went to the camp with the consent of the Committee of Defence, and of several deputies then assembled in my house. I wanted to speak with Lamberg, and persuade him, if possible, not to forsake the path of law . . . I was desirous to return to Pesth, but on the way I learnt by a courier the murder of Count Lamberg. The messenger delivered to me at the same time three autograph letters, directed to me, from his Majesty. I hastened back to confer in person with Jellachich, and persuade him, with his troops, to leave the country. As I did not succeed, I proceeded directly to Vienna, actuated by two motives; first, I wished to express my opinion of the illegality of the autograph letters I had received; and secondly, I was anxious to clear up the affair of the sad end of Lamberg, lest arbitrary will and evil intentions should make this deed a pretext for a *coup d'état*. My other reason for going to Vienna was that I believed a crisis in our affairs was at hand, and I wished to arrest the danger which threatened our country at its very source. I therefore had an interview with Wessenberg (to whom I had always been directed), and told him that our laws did not recognise any vice-regent, and that according to law the Diet could only be prorogued or dissolved after the discussion on the budget was ended. With respect to Lamberg, I told him that as a criminal investigation concerning the sad event had been ordered, it could not be turned into a pretext for a *coup d'état*, and the less so, as the Diet had expressed its condemnation of the act. I, at the same time, pointed out to Wessenberg how they themselves at Vienna had been the indirect occasion of the murder of Lamberg by their neglect and evasion of legal forms. An unlucky fall has doomed me to inactivity, but I trust that my bruised arm will soon recover sufficient strength to be used against the enemy who is ravaging the country, and that I may partake in the glory of victory, or, if it must be so, in the glorious death

of our fatherland. I may yet add that I never acted without the consent of the other ministers, and that I would never hear of measures detrimental to the laws passed in 1848. I have proved this in my private, public, and official actions."

Even at this period, when so extraordinary a combination of hostile forces threatened to crush Hungary, Kossuth and the Committee of Defence did not despair. Whilst Görgey was engaged in organizing and training the army of the Upper Danube, Bem was sent on the 1st December into Transylvania with an army not exceeding 8000 men; with these he promised in a fortnight to take Dées the key of Transylvania, and Klausenburg, and to drive the Austrians at the point of the bayonet out of the Province. This was no vain boast; for, although he could only depend with confidence upon his German legion of Viennese students, the brave old General fulfilled all he had engaged to do. In Italy, Charles Albert had abandoned Milan to Radetzky; Lombardy was once more in the hands of the Austrians, and the conquerors were at leisure to turn their undivided attention to Hungary. Kossuth summoned General Kiss and Colonel Damianics (both experienced officers), to a Council of War; Schlick had defeated Colonel Alexander Pulszky on the 8th of December, and was approaching the Theiss; General Meszarós, who had been sent to replace Colonel Pulszky, had also met with a severe repulse, and the Austrian General had received orders to maintain his position until he heard of the advance of the main army under Windischgratz. The Serbs were still in rebellion in the South, and Colonel Damianics was accordingly despatched thither by the Committee of Defence, and happily succeeded in driving them out of the Banat.

Kossuth was still desirous, if possible, to arrest the further progress of the war by negotiations; he therefore sent

a letter to Mr. Stiles, the Envoy of the United States in Vienna, entreating him to obtain an armistice from Prince Windischgratz; but the Prince refused to listen to any terms and demanded unconditional surrender, which (had there been no other motive) the cold-blooded murder of the Viennese liberals would have deterred the Hungarians from accepting. On the 2nd December, the Emperor Ferdinand was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of nineteen years of age, the son of the ambitious Arch-Duchess Sophia, and of the Arch-Duke Francis Charles, who resigned his own claims to the throne. The ex-Emperor had troubled those around him by his weak though conscientious scruples, ever-lamenting the perjury he had been induced to commit towards Hungary, and repeating the words, "My oath, my oath, I cannot break my oath." The act, viewed on all sides, was contrary to law. The King of Hungary had no power to abdicate in favour of another, for, if incapable, the Diet had reserved to itself to provide for the due execution of the laws. Though the Hungarians acknowledged the right of succession in the Hapsburg dynasty, Francis Joseph was not the next heir, and could in no way be considered the legitimate king until he had been crowned with the crown of St. Stephen, and bound himself by oath to respect the laws and constitution. All titles and grants made by Joseph the Second, 1770—1780, had been declared illegal, null, and void, by the law tribunals in Hungary, and the laws passed during his reign had never been considered binding because he refused to be crowned, and therefore could not in law be counted among the sovereigns. Francis Joseph has therefore no more right at this hour to rule over Hungary than the Queen of England over Hanover. Lord Palmerston received a letter from Lord Ponsonby, warning him of the unconstitutional act about to be committed, but

no attempt was made on the part of England to prevent its consummation, although Ferdinand's act of abdication could not be valid in Austria while invalid in Hungary, without breaking the unity of the two crowns.

As the Hungarians were, however, still solicitous, if possible, to restore peace and their relations with Austria, and as the new Emperor's youth, with the hopes he had raised in the hearts of the people when a mere child, augured well for success, Kossuth determined to request the mediation of the American Minister, Mr. Stiles. On the night of the 2nd December (the day of the accession of Francis Joseph), a young lady arrived, in the disguise of a peasant woman, at the office of the Legation of the United States. After an interview of some length with Mr. Stiles, she ventured to inform him of the purport of her visit. Concealed within a part of the wood of the cart in which she came was a letter from Kossuth, for the conveyance of which she had travelled in an open wagon exposed to a snow storm, and passed by Austrian sentinels, knowing that the discovery of her mission would have been certain death.* She had with her a servant girl, who, becoming possessed of her secret, made use of it later in a work written by another, but published under the assumed name of Baroness Beck, through which she and her confederates effectually deceived the English public. The morning after this interview had taken place, Mr. Stiles applied to the Imperial Government, "with a view to initiate the negotiations of an armistice for the winter between the two armies standing on the frontiers of Austria and Hungary, and to stop the calamities of a war so fatal to the interests of both countries." A conference followed

* She was at that time unmarried, but has since become the wife of a nobleman of high rank.

between Mr. Stiles and Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which the Prince advised him, should he receive any further communication from Hungary, to apply to Prince Windischgratz, to whom all proceedings relating to that kingdom had been entrusted by the Emperor. A week later Mr. Stiles received a second communication from Kossuth, signed by him, and countersigned by Pulszky; upon which the American Minister had an interview with Windischgratz, but the only answer he received was, "I can do nothing in the matter; I must obey the orders of the Emperor; Hungary must submit; I will occupy Pesth with my troops, and then the Emperor must decide what is to be done; I cannot consent to treat with those who are in a state of rebellion."

The Emperor, with all the rash confidence of youth, believed his armies to be invincible; and Count Stadion, the real head of the Cabinet, hoped the hour was arrived in which they might rid themselves of the constitutional privileges of Hungary; for, like Kossuth, he felt the injurious effects of various forms of Government under one Monarch, with this difference, that while the Hungarian desired to extend constitutional liberty and self-government throughout the hereditary dominions of the Empire, the Austrian Minister and the young Emperor desired to crush both where they already existed. Francis Joseph commenced his reign by a proclamation, in which Kossuth and the Committee of Defence were denounced as outlaws, and the laws of March repealed, though with an assurance to the peasantry that an exception should be made in favour of all those which concerned them; thus continuing the old system of Austria in courting the lower classes in order to enlist their services against the educated and higher classes of the community. The Ministers appointed by Francis Joseph, were Prince Schwarzenberg, Count Stadion,

Dr. Bach, and Baron Kraus, and they entered upon their duties with the avowed principle that pledges, coronation oaths, conventions, and compacts between a people and their sovereign were only binding to the individual monarch who consented to them, and entailed no obligation on his successors. The *Vienna Gazette*, the organ of the Cabinet, acknowledged their policy with regard to Hungary in these words:—

“The Magyar tribe is now being thrown back upon its geographical territory, and the kingdom of Hungary, such as it has been, lies in the agonies of death, after existing a thousand years. Its history is ended; its future belongs to Austria!”

On the 15th of December, Prince Windischgratz left Vienna for Hungary, having laid the plan of his campaign in such a manner that the kingdom should be entered at nine several points, with the intention of marching from each and all upon the capital. The army, led by Count Schlick, entered from Galicia; Simonich, advanced from Moravia; Jellachich, from Vienna; Nugent, from Stegná; Puchner was already in Transylvania; and Windischgratz himself, approached Presburg; while three armies, under inferior officers, entered the country from other directions.

Rumours soon reached Pesth that Windischgratz had entered Hungary, and on the 17th, Pulszky was despatched by Kossuth to Görgey to ascertain the truth. He found the General had retired from Presburg, and that engagements had taken place at Tyrnau and Parensdorf, in which the Hungarians had been defeated. Görgey had received orders from the Committee of Defence to maintain the frontiers as long as he could, but when he declared this to be impossible, owing to the severe cold which had frozen the marshes in the vicinity, to fortify Raab, and there await the arrival of Moritz Perczel and his

army from the Croatian frontiers. When Görgey heard the army of Simonich was approaching Tyrnau (Nagy Szombath) he determined to send Guyon to occupy the place: on his arrival, Guyon found the Austrians already in possession, but conceived it to be his duty, notwithstanding, to attack them with his small body of 500 men, as he knew Görgey to be at no great distance, and concluded that at the first sound of cannon, he would march to his support with the main body. He was however disappointed, and had to cut his way through the enemy and accomplish his retreat with his gallant little troop, in the best way he could. Guyon knew himself to be hated by Görgey, and believed that his commander had wilfully abandoned him, in the hope of his destruction; subsequent acts of the General gave a strong colour of truth to his suspicion, though, in this instance, Görgey might allege, that it was not the duty of a commander to endanger the rest of his army, to succour a rash and impetuous officer, to whom, in a military point of view, even a defeat might serve as a useful lesson.

Görgey assured Pulszky he could no longer hold Raab; and accordingly abandoned his position. Perczel, who was advancing thither, only just received information of his movements, in time to save his own army from falling into the hands of the enemy. Soon after, Perczel encountered Prince Windischgratz, and as his army only consisted of 5000 infantry and cavalry, the rest being raw recruits, armed with pikes and scythes, they were totally defeated and dispersed. Görgey, meantime, was marching in a parallel direction towards the East, but made no attempt to succour them. Possibly he had good reasons for remaining inactive, at least they were sufficient to satisfy the Committee of Defence, who, while they issued general orders to the Commanders in Chief, left the details of their movements to themselves. The acknowledged hatred and rivalry

which existed between Görgey and Perczel, however, laid the conduct of the former, in this instance, more open to suspicion even than in the affair with Guyon.

The news of the defeat of Perczel occasioned a panic in Pesth, and damped the joy which had been produced by the successes of Bem in Transylvania. Kossuth immediately sent an order to Görgey, as he had failed in effecting a junction with Perczel, to fall back by forced marches upon Raab, where he might have surprised, and probably overwhelmed, the reserves of Windischgratz; Görgey, however, did not consider this movement advisable: he next received instructions to engage the enemy at some distance from Pesth, because, even if defeated, he could make a fresh stand at Buda, cover the passage of the Danube, and save the Capital; but instead of obeying, he arrived on the 2nd of January at Pesth itself, without once having encountered the enemy. The Diet determined accordingly to remove the seat of Government to Debreczin, but first to send a deputation to Prince Windischgratz, and make one more attempt at negotiation, although Kossuth doubted the prudence of a measure which had already been tried without success. The mediation of Mr. Stiles having proved unavailing, he still trusted in the influence which England, if she pleased, might exert, and therefore commissioned his agent in London to apply to Lord Palmerston, begging to be permitted to lay the Hungarian question before him, and reminding him that Great Britain had mediated between Hungary and Austria as independent powers on a former occasion, when the relations of the two countries were identical with the present.* But Lord Eddisbury replied in the name of Lord Palmerston, that the British Government had no knowledge of Hungary, but as

* After the war of Rákoczy, 1705—1715. See p. 141.

a part of the Austrian Empire, and Lord Palmerston forthwith despatched a copy of the correspondence to the Austrian Embassy.* Days are changed, since England recognized a moral obligation in her conduct towards foreign countries, when to spare bloodshed, and as the champion of the cause of the oppressed, she refused to sign a treaty with France, until she obtained her promise to assist in stopping the massacre of an obscure sect in Piedmont.† Hungary asked for no fleets, but for a mediation to which Austria probably would not then have refused to listen. She was unwilling to be irrevocably disunited from the Empire, and would have been satisfied with an acknowledgment of her lawful rights.

Immediately after the news of Perczel's defeat reached Pesth, Pulszky started for London by way of Paris, in the

* Westminster Review, October, 1853, p. 560.

† Pity is perennial: "Ye have compassion on one another!" is it not notable, beautiful! In our days too there are Polish balls, and such like: but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day, the French treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed. This day he refuses to sign it, till the king and cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor valleys. He sends the poor exiles £2,000 from his purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation, and a general collection over England for that object; has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent, how blind Milton wrote letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for co-operation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle to compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice, and *not* what he liked with his own. All this, recorded in the unreadable stagnant deluges of old official correspondence, is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom, and made more apparent.—*Carlyle's Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 358.

hope of being able, as the accredited representative of the Hungarian nation, to obtain a hearing from the British Government. He had to pass through Austria where a price had already been set upon his head, and after a hair-breadth escape through Galicia, reached Paris, where he remained a short time, and arrived in London in March. His well-known reputation as a man of honour and ability, and the number of his personal acquaintance and friends in the highest circles of Pesth, Vienna, and London, gave him an advantage over any other who might have been selected for the mission; he succeeded in obtaining several interviews with the Ministers, but with how little advantage gained to the cause of Hungary the history of the few months which followed may testify.

In the mean time Batthyanyi; the ex-Chancellor, Mailáth; Mailáth, the Chief Justice; Lozovics, Archbishop of Erlau; and Francis Deak, undertook to carry the message of the Diet to Windischgratz. Kossuth vainly tried to dissuade Batthyanyi by representing the useless risk he would incur. His fears were unhappily justified, for the Prince, after again demanding unconditional surrender, refused, as he expressed it, "to treat with rebels," and, finally, placed the whole deputation under arrest. He soon afterwards released all except Batthyanyi, who was destined to meet the fate of Egmont and Horn from a second Alva.

After the failure of this last attempt at negotiation, Kossuth, and the Committee of Defence, called a Council of War in Pesth, over which General Vetter presided, and where Görgey, Perczel, and Lazar, were present. It was here determined that Görgey, commanding the army of Upper Hungary, should march to the north, and endeavour to effect a separation of the Austrian columns, which were advancing from thence into Hungary.

On the 3rd of January, after his departure, the Diet and

the Executive left Pesth for Debreczin, carrying with them the sacred Crown of St. Stephen, hoping, in a city remote from the theatre of war, to carry on the civil government with greater security.

CHAPTER XXII.

January, February, March, 1849.

Defeat of Mészáros—Is superseded by Klapka—Proclamation of Görgey—Its reception by the army—He marches north—The victory of Branyiszko—Conduct of Görgey—Dembinski, Commander-in-Chief—Is joined by Görgey and Klapka—Battle of Kapolna—Szemere with the army—Interview of Kossuth with Görgey—Vetter succeeds Dembinski—Letter of Görgey—Letter of Kossuth—Kossuth sends Guyon to Komorn—Windischgratz sets a price on the heads of the Hungarian Leaders—Victories of Bem in Transylvania—Letter of Sir Stratford Canning to Lord Palmerston—Conduct of Charles Albert in Italy—Interference of England in the Italian question—Non-interference in that of Hungary.

On the 4th of February, Mészáros was defeated at Kaschau. The news reached the Government when on the road to Debreczin, and General Klapka was immediately despatched to supersede him, while Szemere, acting as commissary of the army, contrived, by his skill and courage, to maintain order until his arrival. After three consecutive victories, Klapka succeeded in checking the advance of the Austrians upon Debreczin.

After fortifying Komorn, Görgey marched his army of 25,000 men along the Danube to Waitzen: here he issued a proclamation to the troops, by which he first announced his intention of refusing to submit to the directions of Kossuth and the Committee of defence, and betrayed his purpose of assuming the military dictatorship of Hungary. He commenced by stating, that the recent defeats, sustained by the Hungarian arms had materially shaken the confidence of the nation: and accused himself of having, since the 1st November, *yielded too implicit an obedience to the Committee of Defence*: he pleaded in excuse for this *error*, that he had followed the example of Mészáros, the responsible Minister of War, recognized as such by King Ferdinand V. The reasons which now impelled him to alter his line of conduct were, he alleged, that the Committee of Defence and the Diet had quitted the Capital, and sent a deputation to Windischgratz without the concurrence of the army; and that he therefore considered the troops had been treated as mere mercenaries, instead of as the champions of the constitutional liberty of Hungary; after a re-capitulation of all the injuries which he considered the Committee of Defence had inflicted upon the country, he concluded by declaring that the army of the Upper Danube, while pledging itself to resist foreign aggression, would, at the same time, oppose all who by an untimely republican movement should attempt to overturn the Constitutional Monarchy; and that, for the future, it would only obey the orders transmitted by the responsible Royal Hungarian Minister of War, or the person named by him as his representative. Görgey knew that before orders could arrive from Mészáros, that Minister must have received his *congé* from the Emperor, and that he himself would then, in accordance with his own proclamation, be free to act as he pleased.

The main body of the army, which was attached to the

Diet, received this announcement in silence, or with signs of disapprobation. Guyon, the second in command, and Nagy Sándor, the Commander of the Cavalry, did not scruple to express their opinion of the conduct of their General. One of them said openly: "We hear some one among us is disposed to play the part of Cæsar; he shall be in no want of a second Brutus if he does." Görgey became aware he had made an imprudent step, and ventured no further for the present. From this time the seventh Battalion was the only corps in the army upon which he felt he could securely depend; it was almost entirely commanded by Austrian officers, or by those attached to the Austrian interests. He placed such men, with foreigners and soldiers of fortune upon his staff, and by gratifying their interest and ambition, obtained considerable influence over them. His plausible manners and brilliant talents captivated others, yet his followers and admirers never exceeded fifteen hundred officers, who failed in all their attempts to weaken the fidelity of the men. Through their means, however, the Diet, the generals of the other armies of Hungary, and even Kossuth himself, were for some time deceived into a belief that the whole army was devoted to Görgey.

He disposed his troops in three divisions, and confided the rear guard, composed of 10,000 men, to Colonel Guyon. Schlick was advancing from the north, and Windischgratz approaching from the south; and it was only by a skilful and gallant manœuvre that Guyon succeeded in protecting the baggage from falling into the hands of the enemy. It is difficult to account for the conduct of Görgey at this time, unless he already contemplated abandoning the cause, and joining the Russians in Galicia, as he could not safely surrender to Austria from fear of the consequences to himself of the execution of Zichy. Instead of placing himself in a position to prevent the approach of Schlick upon the

seat of Government, he continued to advance northwards, in spite of the representations of the officers next in command. On the 17th, he received a decided check at Schemnitz, but Guyon secured the gold and silver belonging to the Government which had been kept there, and sent it, as well as the supplies of gunpowder which he found in Neusohl, in safety to Debreczin. At Neudorf, Guyon was surprised by the enemy in the night, but after a bloody conflict was victorious, and advanced into the county of Sarós, where a division of Schlick's army occupied the defiles of Branyiszko. Görgey refused to listen to the remonstrances of Guyon, who urged him to attack the Austrians. The Pass of Branyiszko was occupied by Schlick, with 15,000 men, and such was the strength of their position, which was considered impregnable, that they could have defended themselves against 100,000; but it was the only road by which the army of Görgey could reach Kaschau, and effect a junction with that of the Theiss. As Görgey refused to give any orders to advance, Guyon resolved to take the responsibility upon himself, and the plan of the attack having been drawn up by Colonel Bayer, he commenced operations on the 5th of February. The snow lay on the ground, and it was a severe winter's night, when a part of the troops, being ordered to disencumber themselves of their arms, climbed the narrow foot paths between the rocks, carrying the cannons (which were taken to pieces, so as to enable each man to bear his burden,) with ammunition, ropes, &c. It was one in the morning before they reached the heights commanding the defiles, and their companions meanwhile engaged the Austrians in feigned attacks, and prevented their suspecting the movement. No sooner had they reached the summit when they commenced firing on the Austrians below, while the rest of Guyon's troops advanced boldly to the assault of the enemy.

Yet such was the resistance they met with, that they had to make ten successive attacks before they could dislodge the Austrians, who finally gave way, and were defeated and driven back after a desperate struggle. The next morning Görgey's vanguard passed through the defile in safety on their way to Eperies. This gallant action not only saved the Hungarian army, but by crowning the victories of Klapka, secured the seat of Government, and drove the Austrians from the north of Hungary. Görgey, who had remained during the engagement at a distance of six miles, coolly remarked, on hearing of Guyon's success, "We have more good fortune than brains. While abandoning Guyon to his fate, and resolved (as he afterwards expressed it) to sacrifice his four worst battalions, "ripe for decimation," he had permitted his officers to join in a *soirée dansante* at Leutschau.^o The troops of Guyon were chiefly composed of volunteers, who with their commander, Görgey hoped, would have met their deaths in the Pass of Branyiszko.

The victory of Branyiszko was the first tidings of the army of Görgey, which had reached the Diet for a considerable time, and when it was stated that his troops, in pursuit of Schlick, who was expected to join Windischgratz, had reached Kaschau, the joy was unbounded. When it subsequently appeared that Görgey was not in the battle, and that the merit belonged solely to Guyon, a vote of thanks was passed to that brave officer, and it was decreed a marble column should be erected, on which his name should be inscribed in bronze. No suspicion was, however, at that time breathed of Görgey's conduct.

Kossuth was desirous to place at the head of the Hungarian armies, a well-known military commander whose name might be of important benefit to the cause. The Polish General, Dembinski, an old soldier of Napoleon, and who had successfully fought against Diebitch, in the

Polish Revolution of 1831, was now in Hungary. His retreat through Lithuania is celebrated in military annals, and he was therefore welcome adjunct when he arrived from Paris in January, and joined Perczel in an expedition in which the enemy was defeated at Szolnok. He soon afterwards received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief over all the armies of Hungary. The Government, meantime, had been actively engaged in establishing factories and foundries at Debreczin and Gross Wardein. New levies had been enrolled, and every needful preparation made to strengthen the army. Dembinski was met by Görgey and Klapka at Kápolna, where Windischgratz and Schlick had united their forces. The Austrians attacked the village of Kápolna on the 23th, and were twice driven out; but, unfortunately, disagreements arising between the three Hungarian generals, the fortunes of the day were marred. Dembinski is supposed to have caused some confusion by giving contradictory orders; but much blame also rests on Görgey, who was guilty of insubordination. On the 27th, the Austrians forced the Hungarians to retire, and during the retreat Görgey observed to his officers, "This comes of being commanded by foreigners and old women!" On reaching Tissa Fured, he, on his own authority, called a court martial, to deliberate whether they should put Dembinski under arrest, or request him to resign the command, after informing him that he had lost the confidence of the army.

Szemere was at this time with the troops, as Commissary for the Executive and for the Diet: he joined the court martial, and sanctioned the proceedings, from an apprehension lest an opposite conduct might induce the army to place itself in direct collision with the Government. This step, however well intentioned, was looked upon as a sign of weakness, and compromised Kossuth and the Diet towards Dembinski.

As soon as Kossuth heard what had taken place, he hastened to the camp, when Görgey, who was always awed by his presence, condemned himself, in an acknowledgment that, had he been in the place of Dembinski, and Dembinski had conducted himself as he had done, he would have had him shot, and pleaded the exigencies of the case alone as an excuse for his conduct.

The want of ability displayed on this occasion by Dembinski, in a position for which age appeared to have rendered him unfit, decided Kossuth at once to deprive him of the chief command; he then sent for Görgey, and told him he was aware of his ambition, but as his own object was solely to secure the independence of his country, he would willingly gratify the General's desire for power, rather than cause disunion at so perilous a juncture; he therefore offered him the chief office in the State, provided he would consent to give up his scheme of forming a separate party, and devote all his talents and energies to the good of Hungary. Kossuth hoped, by this concession to a man whose ambition he might dread, but of whose honour he as yet had no more doubt than of his capacity, to conciliate all parties for the welfare of Hungary; but Görgey only replied evasively, that he was misjudged, that he would co-operate with the Government in all which lay in his power, and only asked in return the Professor's Chair of Chemistry in Pesth, if he were fortunate enough to secure the national independence; he even assured Kossuth that he would decline the chief command if presented to him. General Vetter was accordingly appointed to succeed Dembinski, and all the higher officers, with the exception of Damianics (who was the friend and admirer of Görgey no less than of Kossuth), expressed themselves satisfied.

It was after this interview with Kossuth, that Görgey wrote thus to Klapka:—

“Egyek, March 10, 1849.

“Vetter is Field Marshal, and Commander-in-chief of all

the troops of Hungary! May Heaven keep his breast free from all petty views, and fill him with a genuine love for his country! He will succeed if he follows your advice, and does not reject mine; but he allows himself to be led into error, and will be deceived by the Austrians. Your plan has my full acquiescence, but our steps are hampered by the nomination of Votter, and much of our time and opportunities lost. I am firmly convinced that Damianics, Aulich, you, and I, would have effected much, if we had remained without a Commander-in-chief. I intended to cross the Theiss to-day at Csege, but the God of Hungary forbade it, and sent rain, and so I must go to Tokay. Another day lost! In Debreczin they have made a blunder in the distribution of the troops. Damianics is only to have the third; I the first, second, and seventh Battalions. I told them they were wrong; that Damianics should have more, at least as many as I, and for that reason they assigned to him also the first; that is, your Battalion. I believe I acted as you would wish; I retained the second and seventh. The former I continue to command myself, the latter I have entrusted to Aulich, a very honest and skilful general. From all this you will perceive, that I can do nothing but pursue my operations, and wait in patience what the Commander-in-chief shall decide.

“GÖRGEY.”

While Görgey was thus endeavouring by flattery to gain over Klapka, Damianics, and Aulich, to his side, and to sow discontent against the new Commander-in-chief, Kossuth, doubtful of the sincerity of his vaunted moderation, addressed him in the following letter:—

“I beseech you in the name of the country not to be too susceptible. When in your proclamation from Waitzen, esteemed friend, you declared that you would not render obedience to any one but Mészáros, or his substitute,

Vetter, as much of Hungary as at that time adhered to us, rose in indignation against you, looking upon you as a rebel who intended to play the part of Dumouriez or Monk, or plotted a military revolt; and many came to me, and others used arguments in the Diet, and much was said to convince me that I ought to be offended with your behaviour. Had I then allowed my feelings to master me, (for I was irritated by a proclamation presenting an opportunity to many to refuse obedience to the Government, which would have ruined the country) had I yielded to my feelings of indignation, and issued decrees in that spirit, what would have been our fate? The enemy would now rule over the nation, for the horrors of civil war would have ravaged the country. May the merciful God avert such a calamity, at least until we have disposed of the enemy! Then let the people, if they please, dispute awhile among themselves. You perceive, dear friend, that amidst a thousand dreadful tribulations, miserable intrigues, and snares laid by selfishness and knavery, the destiny of the nation is yet safe in my hands. But how can I continue to maintain it? Only by never permitting the momentary feelings of revenge to overpower the reason of the nation, and by always repeating, 'Let us remain united even amidst our errors.' I have ever yielded, when I saw that not to yield must lead to secession, for I was only desirous that no mistake might be committed which might compromise the weal of the country. I have endeavoured to remedy minor errors, and to act with energy against those of greater importance. I have suffered and laboured; I have not yielded to any momentary excitement; and now we are already so far advanced that it is generally believed the enemy cannot overpower us. You say, esteemed friend, your army now clearly perceives that it has no confidence in Vetter, Méssarós, or the Diet; but I maintain, that we avail ourselves of every means according

to our abilities, with the single-heartedness of old, and cast aside personal ambition, that we may rescue our country; let us not endanger this great object by our personal antipathies! I am aware that faults and defects exist; but I am also aware that they are not such as to endanger the victory of the nation. We must, therefore, make use of all the elements at our disposal. First, we must conquer; then comes the time for organization, and let it be both our care, that after the victory, when the danger is past, no one arrogate to himself a power which might endanger the liberty of the nation.”*

Though Guyon had complained of the conduct of Görgey towards himself, in a manner which put Kossuth on his guard respecting the character of the General, he had no reason to believe him false; it was besides necessary to act with prudence and caution towards a man who, possessed of a dangerous ambition, was believed to be influential in the army, and on whose abilities as a commander many rested their hopes for the country; when Guyon therefore accused him of treason, and refused to serve under him any longer, Kossuth allowed something for the impetuous nature of the young soldier, and advised him to be in future more discreet; at the same time he invested him with the command of Komorn which was besieged by the Austrians, and Guyon immediately accepting the appointment, hastened thither, and, after encountering many difficulties, made his way into the fortress.

Windischgratz had not pursued the Hungarians after his victory of Kapolna, which he believed to be decisive of the fate of the country, and to have extinguished the armies of Hungary. He set a price upon the heads of General Kiss

* Prospective Review, January, 1858, pp. 12, 13. Extract from the Winter Feldzug, pp. 413, 414.

and the Deputy Vukovics, who in their military and civil capacities had acted against the rebellious Serbs; also upon Generals Mészáros, Perczel, Bem, and Count Casimir Batthyanyi; upon all the members of the Committee of Defence, upon Petöfy, the favourite poet of the day, who had followed Bem through the whole campaign; and, lastly, upon Kossuth, his wife, and three little children under eight years of age. Particular orders were given on the frontiers for their arrest, as they were already supposed to be fugitives, and minute descriptions of their persons were placarded in all places occupied by the Austrians.

Bem had meantime continued his course of victories in Transylvania, where, with his 4000 men, he had to encounter 15,000 regular Austrian troops, and 30,000 insurgent Wallacks; while an army of 10,000 or 12,000 Russians were advancing to their support. He had taken Dees according to his engagement, and marched to Klausenburg which General Puchner, in the hope of crushing him by his concentrated force, evacuated on his approach; Bem first drove Lieutenant Colonel Urban and his body of Austrians over the frontiers, and then returned to Puchner: he was however defeated and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of of the enemy, and his little army reduced to 1,200 men. Ably supported by his officers, Count Bethlen and Colonel Gál, he soon afterwards received a reinforcement from Kossuth, and with 6,000 men under his command, and the co-operation of the Szeklers of Transylvania, he repulsed the enemy once more, and was recovering his position, when the Russians entered the country. Nothing daunted, he attacked Herrmannstadt, garrisoned by 6,000 Russians, and drove them from the whole province into Wallachia, taking possession of their baggage and artillery; on the 19th March he finally defeated the Russian as well as the Austrian armies in the battle of Kronstadt.

Sir Stratford Canning, writing on the 4th February to Lord Palmerston, informed him that the Hungarians seemed to be victorious in Transylvania, and that the intervention of Russia, might prove an awkward affair, to which Lord Palmerston, instead of protesting against their entrance into the Danubian Principalities, replied, on the 26th, that *undoubtedly* the passage of the Russian troops was an infraction of the Porte's neutrality, and was a fit subject of remonstrance on the part of the Sultan. Although two despotic powers were now actually combining to crush Constitutional Hungary by the force of arms, England did not interfere by word or deed to prevent the unrighteous act.

Her Government had in fact placed itself in a difficult position. When Charles Albert, under the pretence of favouring the liberal cause in Italy, invaded Lombardy, England openly approved of his intervention, and subsequently tried to mediate with Austria in his favour. Though the cause of the oppressed Lombard people had not excited the active sympathy of the English Ministers, no sooner had the King of Piedmont become engaged, than England was ready to come forward with her good offices.

On the 22nd March, 1848, Charles Albert had assured the Austrian Minister that "he desired to confirm the relations of amity and good neighbourship existing between their two States;" nevertheless on the 23rd, without any provocation on the part of Austria, he signed a declaration of war, and the same evening, in a despatch to the English Envoy at Turin, (Mr. Abercrombie), the king gave as a reason for this act his alarm lest a Republic might be proclaimed in Lombardy, which would in all probability occasion a similar movement in his own dominions; therefore he thought himself obliged "to take measures, which by preventing the actual movement in Lombardy from becoming Republican, should avoid for Piedmont and the rest of Italy the catastrophe which

might take place, if such a form of Government were proclaimed." In an interview with Count Balbo these motives were confirmed, and communicated by Mr. Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston. Charles Albert was therefore carrying on a double intrigue, viz. against the Lombards whom he pretended to assist, and against Austria which he actually did invade, and though the English Ministers were thus made fully aware of his most secret intentions, they supported his cause.*

His invasion of Lombardy, and the Russian invasion of Hungary, only differed in the pretexts by which the King and the Czar justified their actions. England could not well support one and condemn the other. She had to choose between her character for consistency and her character for justice; she chose the former: and when Lord Palmerston communicated the correspondence between himself and the agent of Kossuth to the Austrian Embassy, the Cabinet of Vienna knew they had nothing to dread from the interference, or mediation of England.

CHAPTER XXIII.

March, April, 1849.

The Emperor of Austria annuls the Hungarian Constitution—Victories of the Hungarians—Illness of Fetter—Görgey takes the command—Kossuth with the army—The Austrian Government demand aid from Russia—Hungary calls upon England to interfere—Hungarian victories between the Theiss and Danube—Retreat of the Austrians—Official invitation from Vienna to St. Petersburg, to send troops into Hungary—Lord Palmerston assures Sir Stratford Canning Russia will not interfere—The Declaration of Independence—Kossuth elected

Provisional Governor of Hungary—Appoints a Ministry—Successes of Bem in Transylvania, and of Perczel in the South—Escape of Jellachich from Pesth—Hungarian victory at Nagy Sárlo—Aulich enters Pesth—Kossuth sends Görgey to relieve Komorn—Proclamation of Görgey—Victory of Damianics, Klapka, and Nagy Sandor—Relief of Komorn.

WHEN the news of the battle of Kápolna reached Olmütz, a manifesto was immediately issued, by which the ancient Constitution of Hungary was annulled, and the kingdom was declared annexed to the Austrian Empire. This manifesto and act of annexation sufficiently disproved the reason alleged by the British Ministers for their refusal to mediate between the two countries as independent powers, viz.: that Hungary formed a part of the Austrian Empire; whereas Austria thus acknowledged that Hungary had hitherto been a separate kingdom under the enjoyment of a Constitutional form of Government.

Generals Damianics and Vecsey defeated the Austrians, under General Ottinger, in two successive engagements, taking 5,000 prisoners and a large quantity of military stores. Kossuth immediately repaired to head quarters, and reviewed the troops, thanking them in the name of the people for their heroic actions. The main body of the army then marched towards the north in pursuit of Windischgratz. Vetter falling ill, Görgey, as next in command, took his place. Soon afterwards Kossuth joined the army, and continued with it for some time, during which the Hungarians gained a series of brilliant victories. He was also enabled to obtain a clearer insight into the characters of the officers, and for the first time became fully aware of the intriguing nature of Görgey. He therefore in future reposed as little trust in him as was possible, consistent

with his position in the army, and while nothing actually transpired to justify want of confidence, it would have been impossible to have removed him, without committing an act of injustice. The complaints of Guyon, and of other inferior officers, might arise from insubordination or ill-founded suspicion. After the battle of Kápolna, Görgey had frankly acknowledged his conduct towards Dembinski had been contrary to military law, and it was evident that Dembinski himself had been to blame in the affair. Even Görgey's proclamation at Waitzen, though disrespectful towards the Government, only laid him open to the accusation of over sensitiveness with regard to his personal dignity and to that of the army. Ambitious motives might be implied, on which subject Kossuth had already privately remonstrated with him, and even offered to indulge his wishes, so long as they were not prejudicial to the interests of the country. Kossuth always considered he possessed more administrative than military capacity; but no one knew, until Görgey himself inadvertently betrayed it in his Memoirs, that almost all his battles were planned for him by his subordinate officers, and frequently left to them to execute. His talent lay in organization, discipline, and general science; and if Kossuth, with Görgey's own immediate friends and officers, the army, and the country, were equally deceived as to the depth of villainy of which he was capable, they ought not to be condemned too hastily for want of foresight by those who judge of events after they have past.

While Kossuth was with the army, Görgey affected extreme regard for him, and one morning the General was found stretched asleep in his cloak before his door. On Kossuth wakening him, and asking how he came there, Görgey replied, "Where could I be better than guarding the safety of the Defender of Hungary?" Jealous of his

fellow officers, he was still more jealous of the civil authority, and even considered the friendly spirit with which Kossuth always met him, a sign of weakness ; yet in reality he feared the man he affected to despise. The consciousness of intellectual and moral worth in another, when unacknowledged, produces hatred in minds of an inferior stamp, and though in the absence of Kossuth, Görgey could talk in a loud and boasting manner against him, his courage, which as a soldier was undoubted, failed him as a man, and in the presence of one so much his superior he at once became deferential, and treated him with the most profound respect.

The Austrian Government, about this time, sent a request to the Czar for military aid against the "rebels in Hungary," and demanded that Russian troops should be assembled on the frontiers of Galicia and of the Bukowina, and be placed at the disposal of Austria. The request was granted under certain conditions which were gratefully accepted. Pulszky, on the other hand, laid before Lord Palmerston, on the 16th of March, a despatch from Debreczin, calling upon England to interfere against Russia's breach of international law, as the invitation to enter Hungary did not come from any legally constituted authority, and the invasion of Transylvania had taken place without any just cause of war. No answer to this appeal was however returned.

In the meantime Hungary was doing her own work, unassisted by foreign allies. A series of battles had been fought between the Theiss and the Danube, in which the Austrians had been successively defeated, and had been driven backwards upon Pesth. The Hungarians had gained two victories at Fászeg, one at Arakszállás, another at Tapio Bieake, &c. &c. The presence of Kossuth seemed to animate the soldiers with fresh courage. The evening before

one of the engagements at Isászeg, Kossuth was taking a frugal meal with some of the officers, when a despatch was brought him by a Honved. After reading it he offered the bearer a glass of wine, and desired him to join him in drinking victory to his fatherland; the Honved placing the glass on the table, stepped back, saying, "Sir, I am not worthy to drink with you;" upon which Kossuth rose, embraced him, and answered; "Men such as you save our fatherland; honour is due to you, and not to me." Tears started to the eyes of the soldier, and emptying the glass at one draught, he seized the hand of Kossuth before he could prevent it, pressed it to his lips and was gone. As he left the room, one of the officers present remarked to Kossuth; "I know him, he is a brave youth, and in this moment, he feels himself so exalted, that he will seek danger to-morrow, and go to certain death to prove he was worthy of the honour you have bestowed on him." The officer spoke too truly; the next morning the body of this Honved was found among those of the forlorn hope who had stormed and taken the battery.*

The Hungarians pursued the enemy so closely, that in Gödöllo Kossuth slept in the room occupied the previous night by Prince Windischgratz. Here a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to commence operations against the army which was blockading Pesth. Two battalions under Damianics and Klapka had attacked and gained possession of Waitzen, and it was generally believed nothing now could prevent the Hungarians marching to the gates of Vienna. Alarmed for their own safety, the Viennese Ministers sent once more, in the beginning of April, an official request to the Czar to assist them in subjugating Hungary. The Austrian Minister, Count Stadion, however

* *Sagen und Erzählungen aus Ungarn von Theresie Pulszky, p. 80.*

refused to sanction so iniquitous a measure, and was so much excited on the occasion, that he shortly afterwards became insane. On the 24th of April, Lord Palmerston nevertheless officially informed Sir Stratford Canning, *on the authority of Baron Brunow*, "that it was not the intention of the Emperor of Russia to take any part in the Hungarian war." When the subsequent conduct of Russia contradicted this assertion, the British Minister, while expressing his *regret* at the interference of the Czar, did not appear to resent having been made the medium by which a false statement had been transmitted to the British Ambassador at the Porte, and only added that *he* had nothing to say to it.*

On the 14th of April an event occurred of the utmost importance to Hungary. From the 4th of March, when the Emperor annulled the Hungarian Constitution, Kosuth was of opinion the nation should reply by a Declaration of Independence. As this step required the sanction of the Diet, he determined to leave the army and return to Debreczin. Before taking his departure, however, he sent to acquaint the several armies and their leaders with his intention. Out of the eight Hungarian corps of which they were composed, the first under Klapka, and the third under Damianics, were unfavourably disposed towards the project, though they did not offer any decided objection: the second and sixth, in Transylvania and in the South, under Bem and Perczel, sent in their full and entire consent to the measure, and the fourth and fifth under Haddik and Gál, were most eager to have the tie between Austria and Hungary dissolved. Thus the *new army*, as Görgey called them in contempt, namely, the Honveds, National Guards, and Volunteers, those who had beaten the Austrians and

Russians out of Transylvania, who had subdued the rebellious Serbs, who had defeated Schlick in the north, and had gained four of the most remarkable victories in the battles between the Theiss and the Danube, heartily concurred in the Declaration of independence. One third of the seventh battalion, commanded by Colonel George Kméty,* was decidedly in favour of Kossuth and of the Government; while the eighth battalion, then in Komorn under Guyon, as soon as they were free to give an opinion, expressed themselves to be unanimous for the measure. Thus the only portion of the army who were not agreed, consisted of two battalions and a part of a third, and of these the former did not openly express their dissent. In order to obtain the unbiassed opinions of the officers belonging to the army of the Upper Danube, Kossuth consulted them in person before returning to Debreczin. The commissary of the army, Szemere, did not offer any objection; Count Casimir Batthyani hesitated; but both accepted office under Kossuth immediately after the Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed; Gorgey gave it his unqualified assent, but no sooner had Kossuth departed, than he and Szemere openly avowed their disapprobation of the measure.

On the 14th April, the Hungarian representatives met in the Protestant Church at Debreczin, and after a solemn

* Colonel, now General George Kméty, formerly a distinguished officer in the Austrian service, a Hungarian by birth. He served in the campaign in Italy, and was sent into Hungary by order of the Austrian Government, and commanded to take his oath to observe the laws of March, 1848. A few months later he was absolved from his oath by Austria, but, though not a politician, he knew the value of his honour, refused to accept the absolution, and remained faithful to his country and to his word. He was in the army of the Upper Danube throughout the campaign, and has since written a refutation of the false statements of Gorgey.

prayer, Kossuth rose and addressed the meeting. After recapitulating the victories of the Hungarian arms, and the wrongs the people had suffered, he called upon Hungary to assume her rightful place among the free nations of the earth. The Declaration of Independence was then read.

"We, the legally constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in the Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim and maintain the inalienable natural rights of Hungary with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State—that the House of Hapsburg Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time, we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilized world may learn we have taken this step, not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from destruction a nation persecuted to the limits of the most enduring patience.

"Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the House of Austria upon its throne, in accordance with stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been a period of uninterrupted suffering for the country.

"The Creator has blessed this land with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents, in varied profusion, innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population numbering nearly fifteen millions feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shewn temper and docility which guarantee its proving at once the mainspring of civilization in Eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilization when attacked. Never was

a more grateful task appointed to a reigning dynasty by the dispensation of Divine Providence, than that which devolved upon the House of Hapsburg Lorraine. If nothing had been done to impede the development of the country, Hungary would now rank amongst the most prosperous of nations. It was only necessary to refrain from curtailing the moderate share of Constitutional liberty which the Hungarians united with rare fidelity to their Sovereigns, and cautiously maintained through the troubles of a thousand years, and the House of Hapsburg might long have counted this nation amongst the most faithful adherents to the throne.

"But this Dynasty, which cannot point to a single ruler who has based his power on the freedom of the people, adopted, from generation to generation a course towards this nation which meets the name of perjury. . . .

"Confiding in the justice of an eternal God, we in the face of the civilized world, in reliance upon the natural rights of the Hungarian nation and upon the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its own existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation, lawfully represented by us, as follows :—

"1st. Hungary with Transylvania, as by law united, with its dependencies, are hereby declared to constitute a free independent Sovereign state. The territorial unity of this State is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

"2nd. The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, having by treachery, perjury, and levying war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary; further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms,

and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction, and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary on which the alliance between the two countries depended,—is, as treacherous and perjured, for ever excluded from the throne of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the Crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries, and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

“3rd. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent State amongst the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those States with which it was formerly united under the same Sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

“4th. The form of government to be adopted in future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

“And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilized world, with the conviction, that the Hungarian nation will be received by them amongst free and independent nations, with the same friendship and free acknowledgement of its rights, which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

“We also hereby proclaim, and make known to the inhabitants of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns, and the civil officers, both in the counties and cities,

are completely set free and released from all obligations under which they stood by oath or otherwise to the said House of Hapsburg-Lorraine: and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the Government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

"Debreczin, April 14th, 1849."

It was further decreed, that until the new form of Government should be determined upon, the administration of the affairs of the country should be confided to a President and responsible Ministers. The President selected by the Diet was Louis Kossuth, who was forthwith appointed Governor of Hungary. He deputed Szemere to form his Cabinet. Szemere reserved for himself the office of Secretary of State for Home affairs, and named Duschek, Minister of Finance; Csanyi, Public Works; Sebastian Vukovics, Minister of Justice; Michael Horváth, Bishop of Csanad, Public Worship; Count Casimir Batthyanyi, Foreign Affairs; and Arthur Görgey, Minister of War.

Kossuth had selected Szemere for the important office he filled, because his conduct when in the Batthyanyi Ministry, and afterwards as Commissary for the army of the North, had evinced courage and determination under very difficult circumstances. As he was, besides, a strict Calvinist, the appointment was popular in Debreczin, the seat of Government, and in the surrounding districts of the Theiss, where the Calvinistic form of worship prevailed. In nominating him, the Governor believed that their sentiments were agreed on those questions which now agitated Hungary:

but shortly after Szemere had accepted office, he issued a programme, in which he declared it to be the intention of Ministers to conduct the affairs of the country in a *republican* and *revolutionary* spirit. Kossuth, on the contrary, in accordance with the Declaration of Independence, had resolved to leave the Diet to decide what form of Government should in future be adopted; in the meantime to consider the country in a state of *interregnum*, and to maintain the ancient Constitution in its original form of King and States of the Realm. Szemere, by this act, therefore, placed himself in opposition to the Governor, and at the head of the Republican or Democratic party, which at that period was comparatively small and insignificant.

The point of religious toleration had been always that for which Hungary throughout her struggles for political liberty had contended with the House of Hapsburg. In five successive wars with Austria she had maintained equality of rights for all denominations of Christians, and in every treaty (even although the Hungarian leaders were Roman Catholics) the same was insisted upon as a primary condition. The Governor and Szemere were equally desirous that the new Ministry should contain representatives of all the principal sects acknowledged in Hungary. Kossuth himself and Görgey, both belonged to the Lutheran persuasion. Duschek, the Minister of Finance, who had formerly been attached to the Bureaucracy of Vienna, and was supposed to have much ability in his own department, Horváth, Minister of Public Worship, Csanyi, Minister of Public Works, Pérenyi, President of the Chamber of Magistrates, and Paul Almasy, President of the Chamber of Deputies, were Roman Catholics. Horváth had formerly been Professor of History in Vienna, and had been named

Bishop of Csanad, by the Batthyanyi Ministry.* He had obtained a high reputation for his *History of Hungary*, and was remarkable for his enlightened views on religious matters, and his abhorrence of the power of a hierarchy, though entertaining the most exalted ideas of the duties belonging to the clerical profession. Csanyi, a man of advanced years, was a thorough Magyar, with an iron will and unwearied industry; and though not a great statesman, was a sincere and ardent patriot. Szemere, Count Casimir Batthyanyi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Szász, Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Worship, were Calvinists; John Palfi, Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies, a Unitarian; Bishop Plato Athanackzovics, Chairman of a Board in the Ministry of Public Worship, belonged to the Greek church, as well as Sebastian Vukovics, Minister of Justice, who was a gentleman of good family of Serbian extraction, and who united to a sincere love for his country a desire in all things to promote the ends of humanity, truth, and justice. He was a personal friend of Count Casimir Batthyanyi, and of Szemere. That the Austrian Government considered the war one of religion as well as of politics, was evident by the avowal of one of their own generals. Though himself a Hungarian and Protestant, General Benedek declared, "This is a Protestant rebellion; it will never be put down till the Protestants are put down. Till the end of the war it will be necessary to keep under a strict surveillance of the police every Protestant clergyman and Protestant professor."

* It had always been customary with the Austrian Ministers to allow some years to elapse between the demise of one Bishop, and the appointment of his successor, in which interval the State enjoyed the revenue of the bishopric. This was changed under the Batthyanyi ministry of 1848, when Horváth was immediately nominated on the death of his predecessor.

It was some weeks before the Ministry could be appointed, and Kossuth was pressed by the Republican party to declare himself for their views; but he replied, that to save the country and its Constitution was his first care, and the only duty which ought to occupy them in the present moment; and that the policy of Europe must decide the ultimate form of Government. The labours imposed by his new office upon him were, as usual, fulfilled without regard to himself, and with an earnest desire to perform his duty to his country; despatches were often arriving after midnight, and he had letters to write at the same time in various languages, while listening and answering the interrogatories of those who surrounded him. As his health still continued feeble, his physician continued to visit him, but had often to feel the pulse of his left arm, while the right was engaged with his pen. He scarcely took any nourishment, and continued at work when his secretaries had fallen asleep from exhaustion. His only recreation was an occasional drive into the country with his wife, where the peasantry welcomed him as he passed along.

One of his secretaries thus describes him in a letter which was published in some of the leading journals of Europe and America.* "There is hardly ever a pause in the course of the Governor's activity. Yesterday morning, after I had breakfasted, I hastened to Kossuth's house, which contains four apartments, his sleeping chamber, a parlour, the chancery where we four secretaries have our places, and a small room for copyists. Three couriers, with despatches, were in the room as I entered; and Kossuth sat in his usual place, with a pen in his right hand, and in the left the despatches just brought him. I had come

* The letter in its abridged form is copied from a work on Hungary and Kossuth, by B. F. Tefft, D.D., p. 350.

rather late, for it was already a quarter past five o'clock, and another secretary had prepared in my place two despatches which had been sent off at five. As I came in, Kossuth was occupied in several ways; his hand was writing, his mouth was dictating, his eye glanced at and read the open despatches, and his mind directed and followed all the operations of those who worked under him. He looked paler and worse in health than usual. A glass of medicine stood beside him, of which he tasted from time to time, as if to keep up his physical existence. Indeed, though I have often worked at his side from early in the morning till late at night, I do not remember having seen him stop to take any nourishment excepting this mixture, and the quantity of food consumed by him would hardly be enough to keep a young child from starving. One might almost say, that the physical part of him has scarcely an existence of its own, the man is nothing but spiritual energy, for if it were not so, the perishing sickly frame would long since have been dissolved in spite of all the skill of physicians. He will not be ill, and he is not ill. . . . I had scarcely taken my place when the Governor began to dictate a letter to General Bem, and we were similarly engaged for about four hours, during which time I had written two letters, and each of my three colleagues three, by his dictation. He himself had in the mean time prepared two despatches, one for Perczel, and another for Komorn. After nine o'clock, leaving us work enough for the whole day, he went with the Ministers Szemere and Duschek, who came for him to the National Assembly, taking with him some papers on which he had made several memoranda. He returned at about four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by several Representatives, with whom he held a conference of two hours, answering their questions and suggestions. This, however, did not hinder him from examining the documents we had

prepared during his absence, or from dictating more letters. While he was thus dictating to us three or four letters on totally different subjects, we had to be exceedingly careful in committing them to paper, so rapid was his utterance. At six o'clock came more despatches, and verbal inquiries, all of which were answered promptly. The Representatives, with one exception, went away. • The one remaining sat down beside Kossuth, and began to help us. This made five secretaries; and to give some idea of the labours of the evening I will mention, that from half-past seven to half-past eight he dictated to us, at the same time, five important letters, all of different contents. One of them was to Dembinski, one to Bem, the third to Paris, the fourth to Gyöngyös, and the fifth to Vienna. Two were in German, one in French, and one in Hungarian. • After this, Kossuth was some time engaged with figures, which he reckoned in a state of almost perfect abstraction. While he was thus occupied, his friend and family physician, the Doctor and Professor Bugat Pál, came in and interrupted him. He greeted the doctor kindly, pointed to a chair, and returned to his occupation. The doctor took his left hand, which he yielded to him as if it did not belong to the owner, and held it for about fifteen minutes, feeling the beating of the pulse, after which he retired without being noticed by the patient. At eleven o'clock, the head of one of my colleagues was already nodding; and both I myself, and the one opposite to me, could hardly keep our eyes open. The clock struck twelve, and the noise of the departure of the copyists roused the Governor from his reflections. 'What time is it, gentlemen?' he asked, and when we told him it was just past twelve, he became uneasy, and a cloud suddenly passed across his brow. He arose, saying, 'Has no express arrived from Pesth?' 'No,' was the answer, and he began to pace up and down the room. He did not seem

to think, that it was time to be seeking rest; and as if to keep us from such a thought, he said, 'Gentlemen, there is work yet to be done!' Finally, after vainly waiting another hour, he said to us: 'Let us take a little rest, gentlemen, while we are waiting. I will call you when I need your help.'

"He went into his bed-room, and we arranged ourselves on the benches and slept with our fatigue as soundly as in the softest bed, but our rest was not of long duration; between three and four o'clock the despatches arrived; still half asleep we took our places, and Kossuth, that watchman of his country, dictated to us as before. At six in the morning we received permission to go away while he went for a bath, though we were to be there again by eight o'clock."

The efforts of Kossuth were responded to by the whole country; mothers brought their sons to fight for Hungary, and the peasantry only asked whether the time had now come for them to rise *en masse*; "Grey-bearded peasants," relates Klapka in his War in Hungary, "shook the hands of my soldiers and said with that tranquillity which characterizes the Hungarian peasant: 'Don't you care—we'll get the better of the Russians, too; hitherto we sent our sons only, but now we, the old ones, will take horse.'"

Bem had finally triumphed in Transylvania; Perczel driven the Austrians out of the Bat's country, and the Banat in the South, and General Aulich was at the gates of Pesth. Kossuth advised that he should capture the island below Pesth, erect batteries there, and prevent the escape of Jellachich who occupied the city; he at the same time referred the matter to Görgey, who immediately forbade Aulich to obey the wishes of the Governor, and, consequently, Jellachich, with 7,000 men, escaped down the Danube on rafts. On the 19th of April the Hungarian army encountered the enemy at Nagy Sáro, where General Wohlgemuth opposed their progress with 20,000 men; the Hungarians gained a

decisive victory, the glory of the day belonging to Damianics and Klapka, as Görgey remained stationary in an old castle three hours' march from the scene of action, and only learnt that the Austrians had fled by the written report of General Damianics. On the news of this defeat the remainder of the Austrian army evacuated Pesth, leaving a garrison of 6,000 men under Hentze in Buda. On the 24th General Aulich entered the capital and was received with the utmost enthusiasm; banners waved from every window, and flowers were strewed in the path of the soldiers; the rest of the Hungarian army pushed on to the relief of Komorn, which had been closely invested since December. Kossuth sent directions to Görgey, after relieving Komorn, to follow the main body of the Austrian army either towards Pesth, or should they retreat upon the frontiers to pursue them to Vienna itself: but in this casualty to leave 12,000 men to observe the Austrian garrison in Buda, which they were to besiege if they did not offer to capitulate. The Hungarian army, meantime, defeated the enemy in several encounters, and took 3,000 prisoners, besides several guns.* Guyon, who had in March cut his way into Komorn with a handful of men, and now commanded the garrison, made a successful sally, defeating the Austrians on the left bank of the river. He had already thrown a bridge across it, in expectation of the arrival of Görgey; but the General refused to cross, alleging it would not prove sufficiently strong, although Guyon with his troops and heavy guns had already passed over it. Consequently much time was lost. Some discontent was evinced by the 7th battalion on occasion of the Declaration of Independence being proclaimed; and Görgey, though he now professed to disapprove the measure,* deter-

* The successes, but above all, the late acts of the young and unlawful Emperor, induced the Parliament to proclaim the independence of Hungary, and her repudiation of the House of Hapsburg. The

mined to allay the murmurs of his favourite soldiers by a vehement proclamation, in which he declared:—

“On you has devolved the happiness, by the sacrifice of your lives, to secure to Hungary *her ancient independence*, her nationality, her freedom, and her permanent existence. Such is your most glorious, holiest mission. Think of this when you again encounter the enemy. Many of us imagine the wished-for future to be already won. Do not deceive yourselves. This combat—not Hungary alone against Austria—Europe will fight for the natural, most sacred rights of a people against usurping tyranny; and the people will conquer every where.”

On the 25th, the Hungarians stormed and carried Szony, opposite Komorn, and on the 26th, Damianics, Klapka, and Nagy Sándor passed over the river Gran, and attacked the Austrians, Görgey, with the flower of his army, remaining on the other side of the river. The Austrian General was defeated and driven from his position, leaving, besides his camp and part of his artillery, 4000 dead, and several thousand prisoners. He retreated the same day, by forced marches, across the Austrian frontiers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

May, 1849.

Görgey refuses to march upon Vienna—Lays siege to Buda—Sends Klapka to Debreczin to act as his substitute in the War Office—Want of subordination among the

news of this act reached our camp after the battle of Nagy Sáro. It made a favourable impression on the majority of the troops.—*Klapka's War in Hungary*, vol. 1. p. lxxxviii.

Generals—Klapka's letter—Görgey fails in an attempt to storm Buda—Klapka sent to Buda—The Russians and Austrians on the frontiers of Hungary—Efforts of Kossuth and the Government—Free Trade between Hungary and all other nations—State of the Hungarian armies—Conduct of Görgey—He takes Buda—Proclamation of Kossuth—Honours voted to Görgey by the Diet—Wallack insurrection—Newspaper of Szemere—Szemere and Görgey intrigue against Kossuth—Görgey at Debreczin—Peace Party—Endeavours to obtain a majority in the Diet—Takes his oath to the Declaration of Independence—Removes the War Office to Buda—Commences his reforms in the army.

BEFORE the relief of Komorn, reports had been spread and had begun to gain credit, that Görgey had received a letter from Austria, with brilliant offers of advancement, if he would join the Imperial army; but his late success had served to dispel this suspicion. Had he now followed the instructions of Kossuth, and crossed the frontiers, he would have reached Vienna on the 2nd of May, where the Hungarians might have dictated to the Austrians what terms they pleased. This juncture is considered by many to have been the turning point of the destiny of Hungary. There was no large army left to Austria except that of Radetzky in Italy, yet Görgey, after wasting a full week in Komorn, determined to return to Buda, and besiege that fortress at his leisure. He himself afterwards alleged as a reason for his conduct, that the possession of Buda afforded greater facilities for an advantageous treaty than even Vienna itself; but there were other motives which may have determined his actions. If, as had already been surmised, he had been tampered with by Austria, he may not have wished to present an obstacle to the junction of the Austrian and

Russian armies, and he may also have remembered that during the leisure hours afforded by a siege, the disaffected officers, who had formerly been in the Austrian service, and who were naturally averse to the Declaration of Independence, had time to make converts, and lead the way to the Military Dictatorship he coveted. Whatever were his motives, the day he left Komorn for Buda, he commenced the ruin of a cause which had already cost so many lives, and which now seemed almost secure, in spite of the overwhelming numbers which still threatened Hungary.

Görgey sent forward one corps to Raab, and another into the Schutt, while the first and third corps, the division of Colonel Kméty, and the main body of the army, successively approached Buda. They were in all thirty-five thousand men, but seven thousand of these were Hussars, useless in a siege, and the heavy guns, which were indispensably necessary, were left at Komorn.

As Görgey intended, for the present, to remain with the army, he requested General Damianics, (whom Kossuth had intended for the chief command when he appointed Görgey to the War Office) to take his place in the Cabinet, and gave him instructions to endeavour, as far as possible, to make the War Department independent of Kossuth. Damianics, who was sincerely attached to the Governor, unfortunately was overturned in his carriage and fractured his leg the day before he intended to start for Debreczin. Görgey, therefore, requested Klapka to be his substitute. Klapka left the army on the 29th April, and on his arrival in Debreczin, found the people full of hope and confidence; the Members of the Diet were assembled in greater numbers than before, and even the Upper Chamber was filled by Magnates, who arrived from all parts of the country. Public business was discharged with precision and promptitude, and Kossuth was the life and centre of the Govern-

ment. Mészáros held the War Department for Görgey. The hospitals at this time presented a sad spectacle, being filled with the sick and wounded soldiers from the last victorious campaign. There had been at first a great want of the necessary supply of linen for shirts, bandages, &c., which had been represented to Mészáros by Madame Meszlenyi, the sister of Kossuth, who, when visiting the patients, was distressed to see their condition. Mészáros assured her, he was quite aware of this deficiency, but as five thousand shirts were required at once, it was impossible to remedy the evil. Madame Meszlenyi, with Madame Kossuth, immediately applied to all the ladies of Debreczin and the neighbourhood, and in less than a week, produced the required number: Kossuth was, therefore, urged from different quarters, to appoint his sister to superintend and control the management of all the military hospitals of Hungary which by her exertions were soon in a far better condition.

As soon as Klapka arrived, Mészáros willingly resigned his trust: the task was one of no small difficulty; the Generals of the several armies were each desirous to act independently of each other and of the government. Bem had hitherto solely applied to Kossuth for supplies, and was disinclined to turn from him to the new Minister of War. Such a deviation from ordinary forms was, however, overlooked in consideration of the brilliant victories he had achieved. Perczel was however equally independent; Dembinski protested he would not consent to receive his instructions from the War Office, and Görgey himself continued his operations on the Upper Danube, utterly regardless of the wishes of the Government and of Kossuth. Without greater unity of purpose, Klapka perceived it would be impossible to employ the forces of the country to advantage. He represented this to the Government and

induced Kossuth to forward the following resolution to the Generals.

" Debreczin, 20th May, 1849.

" The probability of a Russian invasion, and the considerable reinforcements which have lately poured in to the Austrian armies, make it incumbent upon the Government to use all its powers to provide for the defence of the country.

" On the representation of General Klapka, the Secretary at War, I have therefore resolved as follows: the military forces of the nation are to act in concert and co-operate with the combined plan of defence adopted by the Government. The arbitrary plan of operations which some commanders have adopted according to their own fancies, regardless of the direction of the campaign, must be done away with. For this purpose, the commanders of the armies shall have the general plan of the campaign communicated to them. Each commander will likewise receive his separate instructions, informing him of the part his corps is to take in the operations.

" Immediately after the capture of Buda, or, in case of a failure, immediately after the establishment of a blockading corps round that fortress, and the arrangement of the other corps on the Upper Danube, General Görgey will proceed to this place to take the lead in the War Office for the purpose of establishing the preparations for the defence of the country on a broad and solid basis. The commanders of the various corps have hitherto taken it upon themselves to remove, displace, appoint, and grant medals and orders to military officers. For the future, they are bound to appeal to the War Office, and in the higher grades, to the Governor of the country for confirmation of their orders.

" On the battle-field only shall the commanders be entitled to reward the merits of individuals, according to the best of their judgment.

"This resolution of the Council of Ministers, and its confirmation by the Governor of the country, shall be immediately communicated to the army, and to the military authorities throughout Hungary.

"KOSSUTH."

Görgey had on the 16th May failed in an attempt to storm Buda, and had written to the Governor that his want of artillery made success impossible, and that he intended to raise the siege; upon which Kossuth desired him to order the heavy guns to be brought immediately from Komorn, and insisted upon his using all means to carry Buda; he had undertaken the siege upon his own responsibility, and was therefore bound to overcome every difficulty; a failure now would inflict a worse injury on the nation than the mere loss of a fortress, by causing a panic, and extinguishing that hope and confidence which recent victories had just revived.

Still Görgey hesitated, and General Nagy Sandor laid a complaint of the conduct of his commanding officer before Kossuth, pointing out at the same time the necessity of sending down a Government Commissioner to head quarters. Klapka accordingly returned to Buda, to inquire into the real state of affairs.

In the meantime the Governor, with the full concurrence of Klapka, roused the people to arms, calling upon them to be in readiness to drive out the foreign invaders with knives, pitchforks, hatchets, or whatever they could lay hands on. No time was to be lost, for the Russians and Austrians were again assembling upon the frontiers of Hungary. The Russians were on the borders of Galicia with 90,000 men, and had already entered Transylvania with 40,000. General Welden, who was afterwards succeeded by General Haynau, commanded an Austrian army of 60,000 men at Presburg; 12,000 Austrians were assembled on the banks

of the Drave, and on the Styrian frontier, under General Nugent; while Jellachich was at Esseg, Ruma, and Concurrenz, with 25,000. In Transylvania and Wallachia there was a Servian corps of 15,000, and a Wallachian corps of 20,000 men; while 10,000 garrisoned Esseg, Temesvar, and Karlsburg. The total number of the enemy being 307,000 men, twice that of the whole of the Hungarian armies taken together.

But the Government and Kossuth only redoubled their efforts to meet this alarming alliance of the two great despotic Powers of Europe. Manufactories of guns, swords, gunpowder, and saltpetre, were at work over the whole country. Commissioners were employed to purchase accoutrements, horses, and military stores in various provinces, and active means set on foot, to increase the numbers of the troops. The chief support, however, on which the Government depended, was the enthusiastic devotion and patriotism of the people. The efforts of Kossuth in times of peace had united the nobles and the peasantry, the Slave and the Magyar; all Hungary was, therefore, ready to rally round the standard of their common country in the hour of danger. A general fast was proclaimed, and the prayers of the people ascended simultaneously to Heaven for the safety of their beloved fatherland.

Neither were measures neglected which might provide for the future prosperity of Hungary. The day on which Kossuth had been proclaimed Governor, and the country had declared its independence, when having driven out the Austrians, the Hungarians could with reason hope that their existence as a nation would have been acknowledged by foreign Governments, Kossuth sent instructions to Pulszky in England, to acquaint the Government there that the trade of Hungary was open to all nations, and that she was

ready to receive the fruits of English industry. As he was desirous that the ancient form of government, consisting of a King and Diet, should continue, he at the same time commissioned his envoy to solicit a Prince from the Royal Family of England, whose Constitution resembling that of Hungary might be a guarantee for a Sovereign of that nation respecting her laws. The petition was laid before Lord Palmerston, but no answer was returned.

Bem, who had triumphantly expelled the Austrians and Russians from Transylvania, was prepared with 32,000 men to encounter again their combined forces there, which now consisted of 60,000 fresh troops. Perczel and Vecsey, in the South, with 30,000 men, were opposed to Nugent and Jellachich. Dembinski, in the North, had only 12,000 with which to defend that quarter against 90,000 Russians, and 6,000 Hungarian troops were in the Marmorosh, while 5,000 formed the garrison of Peterwardein.

On the arrival of Klapka at Buda, he found Nagy Sándor indignant at the dilatory conduct of Görgey, whose motives he suspected, and he complained bitterly of the indifference of the staff, and of the careless manner in which the siege was conducted. The staff officers were trying in every way to throw discredit upon the Government, and Görgey openly expressed to Klapka the intense hatred he bore Kossuth. While Kossuth believed it to be a fortunate circumstance for Hungary that the political and military chief were not united in the same person, Görgey eagerly coveted the whole power, and chafed beneath instructions received from the civil authority.

The guns were, however, at last brought from Komorn, the storming of Buda took place in good earnest, and on the 21st of May the fortress was taken after a gallant resistance, in which the Austrian General Hentze, a brave and determined officer, fell mortally wounded, and in which

5,000 prisoners were captured. After this victory Görgey returned to Komorn, and wasted much time in petty conflicts with the Austrians on the Schutt, when he might have driven them out by one energetic effort. On the return of Klapka to Debreczin, he found a letter from Perczel, complaining of the conduct of Görgey, and demanding that he should be brought before a court-martial ; but Debreczin was at that moment in all the delirium of joy occasioned by the success at Buda, which was announced in the following proclamation :—

“ May the nation gather fresh courage and enthusiasm from the example of this success ! May the combat which is still impending be short, and the liberation of the country complete ! Peals of bells throughout the country proclaim the victory of the arms of Hungary. Pray to God, and thank Him for the glory He has vouchsafed to grant the Hungarian army, whose heroic deeds have made it the bulwark of European liberty !

“ The Governor of the Commonwealth.

“ LOUIS KOSSUTH.

“ Debreczin, 22nd May, 1849.”

Szemere proposed that a vote of thanks should be passed to the victorious General and his army, and the Grand Cross of the Hungarian order for military merit be awarded to Görgey ; several of the deputies were appointed to convey this resolution to him, and one of the leaders of the so-called peace party in the Diet to head the deputation. This party was composed of men who with the exception of Paul Nyáry, possessed no influence with the country because they aimed at impossibilities ; but even among them Görgey attempted to gain auxiliaries. He refused the proffered honours, and declared that his principles would not allow him to accept any mark of distinction, and that he desired to set an example

of moderation to his subordinate officers. His actual reason however was, that he would receive neither reward nor instructions from the Governor.

The joy at the successes of May, was somewhat damped by the insurrections of the Wallacks in Transylvania Stimulated by Austrian agents, and encouraged by two leaders, one of them a Bishop, who inflamed their religious fanaticism, the insurgents committed the most horrible murders and devastations, especially in the Maygar districts, where the Wallacks tortured whole families to death.

At length Görgey arrived in Debreczin to assume the direction of affairs in the War Office. Szemere had for some time past supported a newspaper, which was entirely in the interests of Görgey and against Kossuth. Görgey relates in his memoirs that Szemere made overtures to him which he rejected; an accusation which Szemere denies in a pamphlet written in reply. As both however were intriguing against Kossuth at a time when both were acting as his ministers, it is difficult to know which of these contradictory statements can be relied on. As soon as Görgey arrived at Debreczin he was invited to an interview by the peace party, to inquire how far General Klapka was correct in his statement that the army objected to the Declaration of Independence. Görgey assured them that it was perfectly true, and that the Declaration of the 14th April was quite contrary to their desire.

"The assembly," Görgey writes, "showed confidence in me; they appeared to give implicit belief to my assurance that the Diet had been mystified by Kossuth and they desired no further proofs:" he proposed the abolition of the decree of the 14th April, and assured them that they might thus preserve the country from the Russian invasion; but his simple auditors, though crediting his words, informed him this could not be, as the Diet was prorogued, and would only reassemble in the beginning of July, in Pesth. Görgey next

proposed the decree should be abolished by a counter revolution from the army, without waiting for the consent of the Diet; but he was interrupted by loud cries of "No Military Revolution, no Sabre Government!" which concluded his conference with the peace party. He therefore determined to overrule the Diet when it met, by procuring the election of a sufficient number of his own officers, to form a majority upon whom he could entirely depend. He also contemplated depriving the party who brought about the Declaration of Independence of their weightiest supporters in the army, by displacing Bem, Perczel, Dembinski, and Guyon from their commands. In order to accomplish this end he came to the conclusion, that he must overcome, as he himself expressed it, his fatal aversion, "*to swear to a law, the abrogation of which seemed indispensable to the great cause of Hungary*". He therefore, with the full intention to commit perjury, took the oath to uphold the decrees of the Diet, and to maintain the resolution of the 14th April; and then took his place among the Ministers. He proceeded to remove the War Office to Buda, where he commenced his reforms; he determined to unite the offices of Minister and Commander-in-chief in his own person, and established a kind of War Chancery at head quarters, over which he appointed Colonel Bayer to preside. He next sent General Vetter to take the place of Perczel in the South, Visocki to supersede Dembinski in the North, and Colonel Ashboth to take the command of the second corps, whose Commander, General Aulich, had been temporarily disabled. Klapka was sent to succeed Guyon in Komorn, and Perczel and Dembinski were desired to join the army of reserve in Szolnok, and there await further orders.

CHAPTER XXV.

June, July, 1849.

The Government at Pesth—Szentkirályi—Pazmándy—The Russians enter Hungary—Letter of Kossuth to Klapka—Görgey and the 7th Battalion at Raab—Haynau—Russian Officers with Görgey—Klapka remonstrates with Görgey—Battle of Pered—Consequences of Görgey's disobedience to Kossuth, and neglect of the advice of Klapka—Alarm at Pesth—Victory at Atsh—Görgey wounded—Kossuth removes Görgey, and appoints Meszáros to the command of the army—Letter of Kossuth to Klapka—News of the victory of Atsh reach Pesth—The army insist on Görgey retaining the command—Klapka and Nagy Sándor at Pesth—Kossuth permits Görgey to retain the command of the army of the Upper Danube, but insists on his resigning the War Department—Interview of Csanyi, Minister of Public Works, with Klapka—Csanyi writes to Görgey.

IN the beginning of June, the Government returned to Pesth, where Kossuth was received with every testimonial of joy by the inhabitants, who showered flowers on him as he passed. During the occupation of the Capital by the Austrians, several of the former members of the Diet, especially those unfavourably disposed towards Kossuth, stooped to court the notice of Prince Windischgratz. One of these was Szentkirályi, who had been elected with Kossuth for the Diet of 1847, but who had never forgotten that his own name had been eclipsed by that of his colleague. Envy and jealousy had ever since rankled in his breast, and thought, as Civil Commissary in the South, under the Batthyanyi

Ministry, he had actively assisted to quell the Serb rebellion, he withdrew from politics as soon as Kossuth was appointed President of the Committee of Defence. When Windischgratz entered Pesth, he lent himself to write a proclamation against the Committee of Defence, disavowed his principles, and paid homage to the Austrian Commander. * But when the Government returned, he quitted Hungary, and retiring into Bavaria, devoted himself to the study of medicine. Another, who, like him, abandoned the cause of his country, was Pazmándy, the President of the Diet of 1848. The Presidentship, which had been the object of his ambition, had been obtained for him chiefly through the instrumentality of Kossuth, though opposed by the Radicals: but on the arrival of Windischgratz, he only followed the Government part of the way to Debreczin, and then hastened back to pay his court to the Prince. When the Austrians were driven out, he was arrested, and summoned to answer for his conduct, but he excused himself on the plea of having acted under the influence of fear; and the Hungarian Government despising his cowardice, granted him liberty to retire, a disgraced man, to his estates in the country.

The Russian army was now descending into Hungary through the passes of the Carpathian mountains.* As the

* "As for the interests of Austria in particular, and Europe in general, we could hardly do anything more than repeat the enlarged and statesmanlike views developed by Lord Palmerston on Saturday last. 'The House of Hapsburg it might have been supposed would have wished to rule over a strong empire for its own sake. Western Europe would gladly have seen that Empire strong, as a guarantee of peace and order in those regions. Now, for a sovereign family which has reigned over two countries to endeavour to strengthen itself by attempting to crush one country by the forces of the other, seems little little less than suicidal; and when for that purpose it calls in the very power from whose designs it has the most to dread, such an act

road was only commanded from Dukla, in Gallicia, Kossuth proposed to seize on this position; but he was opposed in the Diet, on the ground, that as Dukla was situated in Austrian Poland, on the confines of Russian Poland, its seizure might afford a pretext to Russia for her intervention.

Klapka had written to the Governor, giving a report of certain errors in the conduct of the War Department which he had already stated to Görgey; and on the 7th June, Kossuth replied as follows:—

"The Governor of the Commonwealth to General Klapka.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,

"The Government has at length arrived at Pesth. The people received us with enthusiastic exultation, for in our persons they hailed the liberty and independence of the nation.

"I have received your two letters of the 2nd and 3rd of June, and I reply to them as follows: I believe that the

can hardly be termed anything but sheer madness. If the present representative of the House of Hapsburg is willing to reign over both Hungary and Austria as a vassal of another power, rather than to preserve the ancient possessions of that house by the support of a generous and loyal people, we can only, so far as he is concerned, lament the infatuation which leads to such a choice. But we must observe, with respect to matters which affect us deeply, that to the maintenance of order, to the balance of power in Europe, and to the preservation of peace, such a state of things is totally opposed. Even were the outline of the Austrian possessions to remain the same as in 1815, the internal resources of the countries themselves, as well as the external relations of the reigning family would be totally changed. We should prefer, if it were possible, the re-construction of the Austrian empire on a basis which would secure strength and permanence. *But if this be impracticable, a young and vigorous Hungary, would be found more efficient than a worn out and lacerated empire.*"—*The Globe*, June, 1849.

plan of operations which you submitted to the Cabinet Council at Drebrezczin, and which we accepted, was the result of an understanding between you and your friend Görgey, and I had no reason to doubt that after your departure from Komorn, this plan would be executed. I calculated the forces under your command to be, &c. &c. . . . But even should this be incorrect, I confess that I do not entertain any serious apprehension, and I must entreat you to come to an understanding with the Secretary of War, and induce him speedily to execute the aforesaid plan of operation. Though fully convinced of the importance of Komorn, yet if that place is to be regarded merely as a fortress and not as a great entrenched camp, I cannot but consider your being condemned to the keeping of Komorn, which would be quite as safe in other hands, to be a serious waste of your talents, which require a larger sphere of action, and which, in this time of general activity are indispensably necessary to the country. I am in hourly expectation of the return of the Minister Vukovics from the Banat. He is engaged in recruiting a corps of from 12,000 to 16,000 men. . . . The bearer of this is instructed to pay you 1000 florins; another remittance to the same amount will follow the day after to-morrow. You will use all your energies in the construction of the works and fortifications. I will engage to let you have the money, and the Commissioner Ujhazi* is instructed to provide you with labourers and tools.

* Ujhazi, one of the most distinguished men in the county of Sáros, and the intimate friend of Kossuth. When Kossuth was imprisoned in 1836, Ujhazi spoke in the County Meeting of Sáros, on the illegality of the proceeding. He was himself in consequence indicted for high treason, but his trial was only prevented by the amnesty of 1841. He was appointed Fő Ispany of the county of Sáros, and was one of the most eloquent Magnates on the liberal side in the Diet. Kossuth appointed him Government Commissioner at Komorn. .

"As to the question of offensive or defensive war, I am fully convinced that the longer we delay acting on the offensive, the better prepared will the enemy be to meet us, and the more difficult will it be for us to succeed. In the development of resources, the enemy has fewer obstacles to overcome than we, particularly since we are in want of arms. I am of opinion that it would have been for our advantage if we had made use of the time when the Russian intervention was pending, to attack the Austrians, who were then isolated; or, at least, to advance upon the Laytha. But whether this last movement is now advisable or not, must depend upon the disposition of the enemy's forces. . . . I propose to confer on this matter with Görgey. The most important point of operation is, that Komorn be placed in a proper state of defence, &c."

Soon after Klapka had received this letter, Görgey arrived at his quarters, and gave him the command of Colonel Kmety's division which had advanced from Buda upon Papa, while promising him a reinforcement of between 4,000 and 5,000 recruits. The seventh battalion stationed at Raab was hospitably received by the inhabitants, and though the enemy was increasing in strength and numbers on the frontiers, Görgey permitted his officers to indulge in balls, excursions, and theatricals, as in a time of peace, while the officers of the remaining corps were kept in a state of most harassing incertitude. Their depression was temporarily relieved by the arrival of 120 Hussars, who had deserted from the Austrian army in Saxony. Some of the soldiers had left their regiment in the previous November, crossed Bohemia and Moravia, fighting their way through several bodies of Austrian troops sent to intercept them, and had reached the Hungarian army in safety. Others followed their example, until the whole regiment was ordered into the Tyrol. Many more escaped during

the march, and on their arrival in Styria they all dispersed. Some were captured and decimated, but others, and among them those who reached the head-quarters of the army of the Upper Danube, succeeded in their attempt. They were immediately attached to Colonel Kméty's division, and on the 18th he defeated the Austrians at Csorna, in an action in which 150 of the enemy with their General were killed, with the loss of 120 Hungarians. This success, though trifling, had the effect of infusing fresh courage into the troops, who were beginning to be dispirited by the state of total ignorance in which they were kept with regard to the intentions of the Commander-in-chief. From the 16th to the 21st of June, Görgey only sent small detachments across the rivers Waag and Neuhausler Danube, engaging them in skirmishes with the enemy, by whom they were generally repulsed, owing to the inferiority of their numbers, and he thus gave the Austrians time and opportunity to concentrate their forces.

General Haynau, a man who had already, while in Italy, given signal proofs of cruelty, was now placed in command of the Austrian troops at Presburg. He had been recommended to the young Emperor by Radetzky, who had found in him a willing instrument for the execution of his orders. He commenced operations in Hungary by hanging Baron Ladislaus Medniansky who had once served in the Noble Guard of the Emperor, but having retired, had no rank in the Austrian service. His crime, for which he died, was that during the siege of Leopoldstadt where he commanded, he had recommended holding out to the last. Major Grube, who commanded the artillery in the fortress, was also hung; the next victim was Bazga, a Protestant clergyman, highly respected in Presburg, and one of the most eloquent preachers in Hungary. Madame von Udvarnok, a lady in a good station of life, was flogged by the command of

Haynau, as well as the daughter of Professor Geyer at Raab, for having turned her back on the Emperor when he entered the city. The subsequent fate of Madame Madersback is well known in England.

The delays of Görgey had enabled a Russian division of 16,000 men to join Haynau, with the intention of acting as a *corps de réserve* to the main body of the Austrian army. Field Marshal General Count Paskiewitsch had entered Hungary by Galicia, and Kossuth sent orders to Görgey to fall back immediately upon Pesth, leaving a sufficient garrison in Komorn to prevent the Austrians advancing further for the present; and then to proceed by the railroad to Szolnok, there to join Perczel. Their combined forces would have formed an army of 100,000 men; with these Kossuth proposed they should at once march to attack Paskiewitsch whose army consisted of 90,000. After the victories of the Hungarians in battles where they had to encounter twice their own numbers, he was not too sanguine in his expectation of the result being a total defeat of the enemy. The main body of the Russian army once beaten, Görgey and Perczel could return to the attack of the Austro-Russian army under Haynau and Paniutin. But Görgey, while affecting to despise the Austrians, always magnified the numbers, powers, and resources of the Russians so as to discourage his own troops, while at the same time he spoke of them as more friendly or less hostile to Hungary than the Austrians, and even hinted at a Constitutional Monarchy under the Prince of Leuchtenberg, or the Grand Duke Constantine. Russian officers, with flags of truce were frequently seen at his quarters under various pretexts; and when Kossuth remonstrated, Görgey replied by assurances of fidelity, and promises to obey the orders of Government.

On the 18th of June Klapka wrote a friendly letter to Görgey complaining of the manner in which he conducted

the war, and of the distribution of the Hungarian armies. On the 20th and 31st of the same month the battle of Pered was fought, which ended in a total defeat of the Hungarians after the loss of many lives. The morning of the 26th rose in a dense fog, and had the Hungarians commenced the attack at an early hour, they would have surprised the enemy in their quarters, but Görgey gave orders they should not move until his arrival; the fog gradually dispersed as the sun rose, and displayed to the astonished Austrians the Hungarian army prepared for battle; but their Commander-in-chief was still absent, and the enemy had leisure to secure a strong position. A detachment of Hungarians, however, under Major Rakoczy, attacked them in the rear and obliged them to retreat; and at ten o'clock Colonel Ashboth, unable to restrain his own eagerness or that of his troops, led the second battalion to the charge. The village itself soon became the scene of action, and a desperate struggle followed in every house, garden, and yard. At two o'clock the Austrians fled, and the Hungarians took possession of Pered. Just as the victory was gained Görgey arrived, assumed the command, and forbade the pursuit of the enemy, who had halted in a village at a short distance. He next degraded Colonel Ashboth for having acted without orders, and General Knezich, whom he accused of having delayed his own arrival at Pered by his indecision. Colonel Leiningen and Colonel Kaszony, officers unacquainted with the troops, were appointed to succeed them. The next morning, at ten, the Austrians attacked Pered, and after a desperate fight on either side, the Hungarians were obliged to retreat. They were retiring in good order, when Görgey insisted on their forcing their way through the village of Kiralyrei, occupied by the enemy, and though fatigued with the exertions of that morning and of the previous day, the soldiers readily obeyed;

they twice advanced gallantly to the charge, and were twice repulsed, the third time they succeeded, but the houses and gardens were filled with the corpses of brave men, to bear witness that Görgey had been saved the mortification of a total defeat. Klapka had, in the meantime, been engaged with the enemy near Aszod, where Görgey and the remainder of the army joined him. The Commander-in-chief arrived in a peasant's cart, gloomy and dispirited; but mounting his horse, he assisted Klapka to maintain his position until the following day.

The War Chancery hesitated what next should be done; they had disobeyed the orders of Kossuth and of the Government, and now, instead of taking active measures to remedy the evil they had brought upon themselves, they only left 9,000 men in Raab to defend the place against the Imperialist army, while a large number of their troops remained inactive on the left bank of the Danube. They had even neglected the advice of Klapka to fortify Raab, and the place was therefore taken possession of by the Austrians on the 29th, after a gallant defence by the small Hungarian garrison. Görgey next entrenched himself on the outskirts of the forest of Atsh, and sent to Pesth to inform the Government he could not answer for the safety of the Capital for four and twenty hours; that he intended to retire upon Komorn, and that if the Government chose to follow him there, they must look out for a place of greater security for themselves, and from which they could provide for the necessities of the army. It was a critical hour for Hungary. Jellachich had been victorious in the Bats country, the Russians were rapidly advancing from the North, and had entered Transylvania; and the confidence of the Hungarian Government was shaken in their Commander-in-Chief. The inhabitants of Pesth, panic-stricken, assembled in groups on the banks of the Danube,

eager to hear any news which might arrive from the army; the shops were closed, the streets silent and deserted, and nothing was to be seen but raw recruits, carts of wounded soldiers, and the bearers of official messages.

Klapka arrived in the capital on the 1st of July, and found the Governor, with Szemere, Casimir Batthyanyi, and Perczel waiting for Generals Kiss and Aulich and the Minister Csanyi, who had been sent to Görgey after the last message had been received from the Commander-in-Chief. Kossuth, attributed Görgey's failures to his having listened too much to the advice of Colonel Bayer and the War Chancery, and now sent him orders to retreat into the North, and there join Visocki, as the only hope he now saw of saving the nation from the dangers which were thickening around it, was to concentrate the forces upon the Theiss and the Máros. On the 2nd, Klapka returned to the army, and conveyed the opinion of Kossuth to Görgey. He received from him an assurance that he had already promised Csanyi, and Generals Kiss and Aulich to obey the orders of the Government, and intended to have commenced his retreat upon the following day, but that as since he had given this promise the Imperialists had advanced upon Atsh, near Komorn, he could not now leave the camp undefended. The young Emperor himself accompanied the Austro-Russian army, which amounted to 70,000 men, led by Haynau and Paniutin. The battle commenced favourably for the Imperialists; but though the Hungarians were only brought into the field by detachments, and had always therefore to encounter superior numbers, every point was finally recovered, and Görgey, pushing on with the artillery and cavalry, threw the enemy into disorder, and obliged them to retreat; 18,000 men were killed or wounded on both sides. Görgey had conducted himself with courage, although he had not shown much ability as a general. He

had received a wound in the head in the course of the day,* and was under the hands of the surgeon when Klapka received a letter from Kossuth, informing him that the Commander-in-Chief was removed from his office, and General Mészáros appointed to supersede him.

“ MY DEAR GENERAL,

“ Görgey has broken his word* which he pledged to a Minister of State and two Generals. He shall continue Secretary at War, but the chief command cannot be allowed to remain another moment in his hands. The Field Marshal, Lieutenant Mészáros, has been appointed to that post. Perhaps Görgey will refuse to obey: that would be infamous in him—treason:—as indeed the breach of his word, and his blind submission to Bayer’s influence, is akin to treason. General! the liberty of our country, and the liberty of Europe depend at this moment upon there being no dissensions, no party quarrels in the army. In you I respect a Roman character. Our country, and our liberty above all! Support General Mészáros. I shall communicate my reasons to you. God and history will judge us. I am convinced, General, I shall not be deceived in you.

“ KOSSUTH,

“ Governor of the Commonwealth.

“ *Pesth, 1st July, 1849.*”

This letter was accompanied by an official notification signed by Kossuth and Szemere. The courier who brought them, informed Klapka that Mészáros had left Pesth in a

* Görgey, according to the account given by Colonel, afterwards General Kméry, was only wounded this once, when he received a “broken head given him at Komorn for his brutality, by one of his own men.” He was hated by most of the privates for his cruel and harsh conduct towards them, and the sabre-cut he received is believed to have been inflicted by one of his own Hussars.

steamer for Komorn to take the command of the army, but that on hearing the report of the cannon at Atsh, he had returned to Pesth.

It was as unfortunate for the authority of the Civil Government, as fortunate for the ambitious schemes of Görgey, that the news of his disgrace should reach the army while it was still flushed with victory, and when a halo of glory surrounded him. His officers had not been unprepared for this announcement, but in the hour in which it arrived it occasioned the greatest excitement, especially among those belonging to the third and seventh battalions. The officers of the staff, and all those whom Görgey had carefully selected for their Austrian tendencies, and attached to his person, were loud in observations and comments which stirred up the hearts of the men to revolt against the orders of Government. Colonel Bayer was above all actively engaged in intriguing against Kossuth and the Members of the Diet. As Görgey was prevented by his wound from acting for himself, Klapka summoned the commanders of the several battalions to a conference on the 4th of July. He vainly attempted to enforce obedience and respect of the civil authority; it was unanimously agreed, that if it were impossible to unite the two offices of Commander-in-chief and Minister of War in the same person, Görgey should retain the former. General Nagy Sándor and Klapka, were deputed to convey the wishes of the army to the Government. Just as they were preparing to embark for Pesth three letters arrived; the first was addressed to Klapka and was signed by Kossuth and Szeinere, commanding he should remain at Komorn with 18,000 men; that General Nagy Sándor should lead the rest of the army down the river; and stating that the victory of Atsh had only confirmed the resolution of the Governor to concentrate the forces, and send them against Paskiewitsch; fur-

ther it informed Klapka of the capture of the fortress of Arad with a large supply of military stores: the second and third were from Mészáros, one addressed to Görgey, calling upon him to obey the orders of Government, garrison Komorn, and march to Pesth, within forty-eight hours, if possible, and the third, addressed to the commanders of the army, directing them how they were to act. •

Klapka and Nagy Sándor, however, decided that under present circumstances, their best course was to proceed at once to Pesth, where they arrived on the 8th of July. They had an immediate interview with the Governor in the presence of the Ministers Szemere, Csanyi, Casimir Batthyanyi, and Horváth, and the Generals Mészáros and Dembinski. Kossuth refused to alter the present arrangements so far as Mészáros was concerned, but being desirous to meet the wishes of Görgey's officers, he proposed to leave him the command of the army of the Upper Danube, provided he resigned the War Department. Klapka expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and instructions to this effect were immediately drawn up. As Klapka left the room, Csanyi pressed his hand, and entreated him with tears, to persuade Görgey to consult his heart as well as his head. "I am old," he said; "I have nothing to lose, but if Pesth is again lost, I shall again be the last to leave it. I shall, perhaps, go to Szégedin, perhaps even to Arad, but beyond Arad I will not go. I am too old to be an exile; I do not care what may happen to me; it is the thought of my country that harrows my soul." Klapka confessed his own uneasiness at the influence the War Chancery exercised over Görgey, and assured Csanyi, that he believed if Colonel Bayer and a few others were removed, there would be no difficulty in effecting a reconciliation between Görgey and the Government. In his anxiety to soften the resentment of Görgey, Csanyi wrote him a few lines entreat-

ing him not to disturb the harmony which existed between the civil and military leaders of the country. His words were disregarded, and the letter was found, with other papers, upon the floor of Görgey's apartment, when he left Komorn.

CHAPTER XXVI.

July, 1849.

Görgey expresses himself satisfied—Calls a Council of War—Proposes to act directly contrary to the orders of Government—Klapka remonstrates—Görgey's opinion prevails—He is taken ill—Letter of Kossuth to Klapka—Klapka prepares to obey Kossuth—Görgey threatens to resign—He is requested to remain—Görgey's own account of the transaction—Mészáros—The Government at Szégedin—Kossuth notes—Kossuth's letter to Görgey—Kossuth returns to Pesth—Haynau hangs and inflicts corporal punishment on the Clergymen at Nagy Igmand—Battle of Czem—Görgey commences his retreat—The Russian army approaches Pesth—Klapka is left in Komorn, and recommends the interests of the country to Nagy Sándor.—Intended treason of Görgey known to the Russians and Austrians.

THE last act in the drama of Görgey's perfidy was now commencing. Klapka and Nagy Sándor brought him the decree of the Government, and as he read, his brow darkened; but soon recovering his composure, he expressed himself satisfied, and immediately tendered his resignation at the War Office. The next day he called a Council of War, over which Colonel Bayer presided.

He began by laying his own views before his officers, giving it as his opinion that the plains of the Theiss and of the Lower Danube were incapable of affording sufficient provisions for an army, or of enabling it to resist the

superior forces of the enemy; he therefore proposed to carry the war into the districts round the Platten See, and to pass over to the right bank of the Danube through the midst of the enemy: Klapka protested against this direct violation of the orders of Government, and expressed his entire acquiescence in the opinion of the Governor and his Ministers, that all the forces of Hungary should be concentrated to fight a last great battle for the rights and liberty of the country. Görgey's plan was equivalent to abandoning the armies of the South and of Transylvania to their fate. He proposed an immediate retreat upon the left bank of the river and a junction with Perczel and Dembinski, who were retiring before the Russians. The Russian army was composed of young men and raw levies, unaccustomed to the country, and if the Hungarians could by the union of their armies gain a numerical superiority, the advantage would undoubtedly be on the side of Hungary. Klapka also proposed that a part of the troops should be sent to the assistance of Bem, who would thus be enabled to drive the Russians out of Transylvania. He was supported in his views by Nagy Sándor, but the other Generals remained silent: Görgey, in reply, assured them he had no intention to separate the army from the Government, but that his object was to defeat the main body of the Austrians which lay before them. He perceived that a majority among his officers were desirous of a junction with the army of the South, which he would not oppose, but he would only suggest that in the first place they should fight a victorious battle to which the position of the enemy's forces invited them; he concluded with a sneer, that he perfectly agreed with the Council that it was an easier matter to sneak out at the back door than to face the enemy and he would leave it to them to decide which alternative was the most honourable.

He had touched and found the weak point in military men, and he carried his object. Even Nagy Sándor consented to his scheme, though he acknowledged that he could not feel sanguine as to its ultimate success, and Klapka yielded to the majority; but his eyes were opened from this hour to the intentions of his Commander to separate his own sphere of action from that of the rest of the forces, and to withdraw himself from the influence of the Government."

That evening Görgey became seriously ill; a high fever followed the excitement of the day: late at night Klapka received the following letter from Kossuth:—

"General Visocki arrived at Cézgled this day with his troops. To-morrow he will move upon Körös, Ketskemet, and Theresiopel. General Perczel, at whose disposition 10,000 men have been placed, crosses the Theiss the day after to-morrow. This day his out-posts are at Arck-szállás: part of his troops are at Török, Szmiklos, and Szolnok. The enemy stands across the Theiss in Debreczin.

"The general 'insurrection'* of the people is proceeding with great energy; and as soon as Perczel has crossed the Theiss, the whole mass of them will assist him in his operations. At Grosswardein we have an armed band of 5,600 men, with 1,200 Honveds, 350 Hussars, and eight pieces of artillery. I have no anxiety respecting the country on the other bank of the Theiss as our affairs in Transylvania are now so much more favourable. The Russians, who broke from Herrmannstadt into Haromszek, and who took Kézdivásárhely have made a hasty retreat from that place to Herrmannstadt, and back over the frontier of Haromszek; so hasty indeed that they have left their provisions at Sepiszent-György. This, from an official report of the 3rd July. Bem coming from Teke, advanced against the enemy at

* See p. 353.

Bistritz, and drew up reinforcements, and now that his rear is no longer threatened, he hopes to be able to defeat the enemy before him.

"The salvation of the country depends upon your operations of this day, and upon the success of to-morrow's march. Above all, it is necessary to put a stop to the political and military intrigues in the army of the Upper Danube. I therefore desire, and in the name of the people I demand, implicit obedience and execution."

"1st. Since the Council of War has to confine its attention to subjects which relate to the operations, you will limit their debates to this their legitimate sphere, and you will prevent them from criticising the decrees of the Diet and of the Government—a course of action which would be in direct contradiction to the nature of military operations. You will attend to this, and see it executed, under the heaviest responsibilities. I regret that such has not hitherto been the case. The nation, and the Government which emanated from the national will, have a deep sense of honour, respect, and gratitude for heroic deeds—for it is by heroic deeds alone the country will be saved from our enemies. But the ruin of the country is not likely to proceed from the enemy alone; internal dissensions may also work our ruin. Death from the enemy's hand is honourable; but if we fall by our own hands, it is a national suicide, &c.*

"The Governor of the Commonwealth,

"LOUIS KOSSUTH.

"The President of the Cabinet,

"SZEMERE.

"*Buda, Pesth, 6th July, 1849.*"

On the receipt of this letter, Klapka sent to Colonel Bayer, and declared he would not be responsible for the

* See Klapka's War in Hungary, vol. i. p. 186.

further detention of the troops round Komorn, that as Görgey's health would not permit him to act, the command devolved upon himself, and he was resolved to obey the Governor: he therefore issued his orders, at the same time desiring Bayer, in the first place, to submit them to Görgey, if he were sufficiently recovered to attend to business. The next morning, in obedience to the commands of Klapka, the troops commenced their march towards Pesth; Görgey, who had been kept by Bayer in total ignorance of the change which had taken place, was first made aware of the counter orders which had been given, by seeing the soldiers pass his windows on the road to Waitzen. He immediately resolved to resign, or at least to feign to resign the command, and at nine in the morning several of the staff officers arrived in great excitement at Klapka's quarters, to inform him what had happened. Klapka reproached Bayer with not having given Görgey due notice of his orders before they were executed, to which Bayer replied by an evasive answer. The circumstance, whether proceeding from design or not, had produced a fresh interest in Görgey's favour, and a deputation was immediately sent to him, entreating he would retain the command. The leaders of this deputation were Leiningen and Poltenberg, who, a few weeks later, had to pay severely for their devotion to their Chief. They assured Klapka, that rather than dissensions should exist in the army, they would prefer honourable negotiations; it was the first time Klapka had heard negotiations thus openly spoken of, and it still further enlightened him as to the ultimate designs of Görgey. Görgey yielded to the entreaties of the deputation who had already caused the troops to be recalled, and in his reply he entered into a full explanation of the causes of disagreement between himself and Kossuth. He thus relates in his memoirs what passed during this conference. "I solicited their attention

particularly to the fact that I was in that moment in open opposition to the latter (Kossuth), because I regarded the order for a general retreat towards the South, emanating from him and the Commanders of his army, as nothing less than the commencement of an ignominious flight, and because I was of opinion, that in order to enable the main army to fulfil its duty with honour to the country for whose rights it had become security, it must resolutely attack the enemy in front, and not retire, in order to be in time to share in the general flight. Further, I gave those officers to understand, that if I undertook to obey their wishes, and resume the command of the main army, they must also consent to my open resistance to the Government, since they (deputed by the army) would scarcely in such a case act contrary to their moral convictions, although most assuredly contrary to their material interests; for I had already resolved on my own conduct, and whosoever would confide himself to my guidance must determine on the same. Finally, in my feeble state of body, personal service could not be expected from me. But if the main army—thus I ended my declaration—in spite of all I had said, still desired me for their commander, and would also undertake to fulfil the conditions upon which I insisted, namely, not to abandon Komorn until an energetic effort had been made to defeat the main body of the Austrians, and if I, in the meantime, should be capable of service, I would hold it my bounden duty to resume the command of the army."

The Deputation retired satisfied; but Klapka determined to resign, and leave the army rather than forsake his duty towards the Government and the nation; Görgey however succeeded in overcoming even his scruples, and inducing him to remain, by the promise of a command in the proposed attack upon the enemy's lines.

Operations were, meantime, postponed on various pre-

tences by the War Chancery. The remonstrances from Mésszarós, as well as his inquiries into the intentions of Görgey, had been answered by professions of obedience to the commands of the War Office. The Government had removed to Szégedin (Czégled), alarmed by the representations of Görgey that the enemy was approaching. The removal was premature, and had an unfortunate effect on the campaign, as the working of the Bank note presses was interrupted, in consequence of which the Government fell into arrears, which it never recovered. The security of the Kossuth notes was one of the chief means by which the Governor was enabled to organize the resistance offered to the Austrian arms. He had made the state of the national finances clear to the understanding of the people; every man was aware that it was based on the national property, which though an enemy might seize, he could not carry away, nor even alienate from a want of purchasers. The unlimited issues of Austrian paper was known throughout Hungary to be based on the power of the Viennese Government to levy taxes; the choice of the people only lay between these two paper currencies, and the credit of the Hungarian notes therefore remained unimpaired, though at this time, from the want of a sufficient number of presses, the larger notes fell into discount because they could not be changed into smaller.

Upon this subject Kossuth himself wrote once more to Görgey:—

"The Governor of the Commonwealth to General Görgey.

"Nobody can be more sensible than I am of the peculiar necessities of the army. No one knows better than I the unfavourable impression which is produced by not paying

for the supplies, and for the assistance of the people. But on the 29th or 30th of June, you informed me by letter that the Government ought to hasten away from Pesth. You protested there was no keeping the enemy back—that detachments of the Russian army were passing your flanks—and that the capital was totally unprotected. Under these circumstances it was our duty to bring the Bank-note press into a place of security; it has been brought to such a place; but I cannot by any means procure money for you within the next fortnight. This is the consequence of the sudden removal, and neither I nor any one can do anything to remedy it. There is nothing for it but to withhold cash payments for the next few days wherever it is possible, and to cover the current expenses with cheques and bills. Our cash must be employed to pay the troops. You will have the goodness to instruct the paymasters to draw their cheque on the War Office at Szégedin, and to make them payable on the fourteenth day after this date. I have attempted to raise a loan at Buda Pesth, and 500 florins were paid in. With these we sent 200,000 florins to Komorn, and paid the current expenses for July. The chief paymasters, who ought to have known our situation, committed moreover the fault, instead of paying each battalion for ten days only, of giving to some battalions their pay for the whole month, while others were left without any pay at all.

“I ought also to remark, that only part of the monthly accounts have been received up to this date. However, what man can do, I will do.

“The Governor of the Commonwealth,

“LOUIS KOSSUTH,

“*Czégled, 8th July, 1849.*”

Two days after the removal of the Government, Kossuth had returned to Pesth, and his appearance had re-assured the inhabitants, who were violently irritated against Görgey, as they began to suspect his treasonable designs, and they even reproached the Governor for not bringing him before a court martial. Under existing circumstances it does not appear that such a measure would have been possible. Görgey's conference with his officers, in which he had declared his intention to act in opposition to the Government, was unknown in Pesth and Szégedin. Klapka, the only officer present who had hesitated to comply from conscientious scruples, had been gained over by the General. An attempt to displace Görgey at that time would probably have raised a mutiny in the army of the Upper Danube. Perczel was too impetuous and hot-headed, and Dembinski too unpopular, to confide the command to either of them, while Visocki and Bem were engaged in the North and in Transylvania, and two large Russian and Austrian armies were already in Hungary.

Haynau had taken up his head quarters in Nagy Igmand, where he arrested all those clergymen who had taken any part in the revolution, hung some, and subjected others to corporal punishment. Meantime, the several battalions of the army of the Upper Danube were gradually marched to Komorn by the orders of Görgey, and at seven o'clock of the morning of the 11th July, the battle of Czem commenced in the immediate vicinity of Komorn. Görgey, who was still suffering from his late illness, viewed the action from the heights of the entrenchments. After a long and severe struggle on both sides, the Hungarians were forced to retreat. Two days after this disastrous battle, and nineteen days after the army should have been at Pesth, if the orders of Kossuth had been obeyed, Görgey commenced his march by the very route first prescribed to

him by the Governor. But while time had been thus wasted, Paskiewitsch and his army had safely crossed the Carpathian mountains, and were rapidly approaching the capital.

Klapka, who was left in Komorn with 25,000 men, seemed to foresee the calamity which hung over his country, and strongly recommended the sacred interests of Hungary to Nagy Sándor, charging him to protect them from the intrigues of the officers who surrounded Görgey. Nagy Sándor, he knew, might still be relied on, for he had ever been a faithful adherent of Kossuth, and had under his command some of the most sincere patriots in the army.

The true reasons for Görgey's disobedience to the orders of Government appear to have been suspected, or perhaps known, by the enemy; Prince Wittgenstein, a Russian diplomatist, wrote from Frankfort on the 21st of July:—"It is but fair to presume that Görgey, with the bulk of the Hungarian army, remained in and around Komorn, for the special purpose of not being compelled to co-operate with Kossuth and the Poles, and with the intention of treating with the Imperialist Generals as soon as his retreat is cut off by the occupation of Pesth and the country on the banks of the Theiss; at Vienna they have reason to believe that Görgey will treat and surrender within the next fortnight."

CHAPTER XXVII.

August, September, October, 1849.

Görgey attacks the Russians at Waitzen—Is defeated—March to Tokay—Letter of Kossuth to Klapka—The Peace Party—Proclamation of Haynau—Retreat of Dembinski—Kossuth and the Government retire to Arad—Ben

driven back by the Russians—Is appointed Commander-in-chief—Battle of Temesvar—Want of ammunition—Successes of Klapka at Komorn—A report that Görgey had received overtures from Russia—Kossuth sends Szemere and Batthyanyi to the Russian camp—They state the report to be untrue—A Cabinet Council—Görgey and Kossuth—Görgey demands to be named Military Dictator—Resignation of Ministers—They request Kossuth to abdicate—He complies on certain conditions—Görgey Military Dictator—His Proclamation—Confidence of his officers—He surrenders to the Russians—The Russians deliver Arad to Haynau—Klapka refuses to yield Komorn—Capitulates—Execution of the Hungarian Generals by Haynau—Execution of Count Louis Batthyanyi—Csányi is hung—Görgey—His character—Lord Palmerston offers the Mediation of England between Hungary and Austria.

THE army of Paskiewitsch was already at Waitzen, when Görgey arrived. As he had sent no notice to the Government of his intention to leave Komorn, neither Dembinski nor Perczel, who were at Szégedin with 60,000 men could come to his assistance. His vanguard immediately commenced the attack on that of the Russians, which yielded before the impetuosity of his charge, but after two day's fighting he gave way before their superior numbers. According to Görgey's own account:—"I became convinced that the enemy had in the night received considerable reinforcements from Gödöllő and Pesth, and that their artillery force, especially, was by far superior to the forces I could dispose of. This conviction, and a careful review of our strength, caused me (in the interest of my country) to resign all thought of breaking the Russian lines at Waitzen, and to proceed on a safe road to Losoncz, Putnok, and Mis-

kolcz." He left Nagy Sándor to protect the rear, who made so gallant a defence, that Paskiewitsch afterwards declared he believed himself engaged with the whole Hungarian army, instead of only a small detachment. Nagy Sándor was able before night to rejoin Görgey, who had thus failed in compassing the destruction of the friend of Kossuth and of Hungary, whom he looked upon as an obstacle in the way of his ambitious schemes. When at Putnok, Görgey could easily have communicated with Dembinski whose army was at Izolnok, while Paskiewitsch, with his Russians, prostrate from cholera and malaria, lay between them, and might have been destroyed, had there been any concert between the generals.

As he proceeded, Görgey was closely pursued by Rüdiger and Sass, while General Grabbe descending through the Carpathian Mountains was advancing towards him from the north; he avoided all collision with the smaller divisions of the Russian army he fell in with, and even where he could have annihilated the inferior force of the enemy under Sass, abstained from doing so, though his troops were continually harassed, and so much exposed to starvation and other hardships, that before he reached Tokay, a distance of three hundred miles, he had lost one-fifth of his men. At Rima Szombath he received a present of arms from the nephew of the Russian General Rüdiger. Görgey returned the present, and refused to accede to the proposal of an armistice he brought with him. At the next halting-place he appointed his own brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Armin Görgey, chief of his staff, and at Szikozo Nagy Sándor apprehended a female relative of Görgey's, and found upon her person letters to Paskiewitsch, proving the understanding which subsisted between him and the Russian General. When accused, Görgey confessed that overtures had been made to him on the part of Russia, which power offered to

assist Hungary against Austria, provided the Hungarians would consent to accept the Grand-Duke Constantine as their King, when the Russians would, on their side, guarantee the Constitution and laws of 1848. The army having been sufficiently weakened by skirmishes with the enemy, Görgey now openly spoke of a surrender.

As the enemy reached Tisza Fured Görgey crossed the Theiss, and marched to Groswardein, sending Nagy Sándor with a detachment to Debreczin, which was soon afterwards attacked and almost cut to pieces by Paskiewitsch, while Görgey remained within two hours of the scene of action without moving to the assistance of his officer.

Kossuth, who became hourly more anxious about the result of the war, wrote to Klapka from Szégedin, urging upon him the necessity of producing a good feeling between the civil and military authorities in order to enable them to act in concert.

"Victory is ours, and certain, if we are but united and confident in the justice and greatness of our cause. But dissensions must surely destroy us, and if Görgey's suspicions of the Government end as they have begun, we must indeed prepare for the worst. But I trust that our common danger will unite us, and teach us to forget the past."

Meantime, the Peace Party continued their intrigues against Kossuth, and aimed at appointing Görgey Dictator; he had the reputation of being the most able of the Generals, and even some who knew him to be unprincipled, believed that very fact would make it easier to induce him than Kossuth to enter into negotiations with Austria.

Haynau and Pamutin, with the Austro-Russian army, had entered Pesth whilst Paskiewitsch was defeating Görgey. At Pesth Haynau levied exorbitant sums upon the Jews to punish them for having at Waitzen exhibited the same poli-

tial sentiments as their Christian brethren. On the 24th of July he departed, but before leaving the capital addressed the inhabitants in the following proclamation:—

“ To the inhabitants of Buda and Pesth.

“I have scarcely appeared within your walls when, with the greater part of my army I leave you to carry my victorious arms onwards in pursuit of a rebellious enemy whom I intend to annihilate. But before I depart I will declare what it is I expect of you, and with which, if you do not comply, your failure shall be attended with the most lamentable consequences; I expect that you will zealously and unanimously labour to maintain order and tranquillity in the cities of Buda and Pesth; I expect that you will as religiously observe all the particulars in my proclamation of the 19th and 20th inst. as if they were continually enforced upon you; I expect that you will provide for the safety of all and any of the officers and soldiers whom I leave behind, as well as for the safety of the gallant army which is allied with us for the sacred purpose of restoring order. If you allow these my warnings to pass unheeded; if any among you should be so bold as to venture to despise them, your fate, the fate of you all, will be *annihilation*. I will make you responsible one for all, and all for one; your lives and properties shall be forfeited in expiation of your crimes; your beautiful city, inhabitants of Pesth, your city which in part bears the traces of a just chastisement, I will convert into a heap of ruins and ashes as a monument of your treason, and as a monument of my revenge. Do you doubt my word? am I a man who fails to punish outrages or to reward according to deserts? Look to the faithless inhabitants of Brescia!*

* On the 1st April, 1849, Brescia was delivered up to pillage by General Haynau; murders and tortures of the most horrible descrip-

they, too, deceived by the leaders of the rebellion, became the accomplices of treason; their fate will prove to you whether I have compassion on rebellious subjects. Remember the chastisement they suffered, and beware, lest while despising my warning, you force me to assign a like fate to you.

"Pesth, 24th July, 1849."

Dembinski, whose army was sufficient to have enabled him to make a stand at Szégedin, was seized with an unaccountable panic at the approach of Haynau, and retreated after a feeble attempt at resistance. Kossuth and the Government had already retired to the fortress of Arad, to which Görgey was approaching, and Dembinski was ordered to effect a junction with him; but either because Görgey's former conduct had inspired him with hatred, or because he was influenced by the desire of carrying out some favourite project of his own, Dembinski abandoned to the enemy all the stores of food and forage provided by Kossuth in Szégedin, and retired towards Temesvar, which was then in possession of the Austrians, and besieged by Vecsey.

Bem, after several brilliant actions, had been driven back by the superior numbers of the Russians, but he still retained several strongholds in Transylvania, and hoped with a re-inforcement of troops to clear the country of the invaders, as he had done before, but Kossuth was in want of a Commander-in-chief on whom the country could entirely depend for fidelity, valour, and military skill; he could no longer trust either Dembinski or Görgey, and therefore summoned Bem to Arad, and appointed him General of all the armies. The new Commander-in-chief hastened to join Dembinski

tion, equal to any of those perpetrated by the barbarous Serbs and Wallacks in Hungary, were here inflicted by the disciplined army of Austria, under the eye, and with the permission of their general.— See *Narrative of Events in Italy*, by General Pape, vol. ii. p. 90.

before Temesvar, where he immediately gave battle to the armies of Haynau and Paniutin; he drove the enemy from every position, and when, in the hope of retrieving the day, the Austrian and Russian cavalry were brought forward to the number of 12,000 men, General Guyon, with his 7,000 hussars, charged them with his usual impetuosity, and drove them from the field in the utmost disorder. About four in the afternoon, when the Hungarians were beginning to feel secure of victory, the sound of Bem's cannon suddenly ceased; the ammunition was exhausted, and he was obliged to order a retreat. Happily the enemy was too much disabled to attempt pursuit; on the side of the Hungarians, Dembinski had been wounded, and Bem had broken his collar bone by a fall from his horse; the troops retreated in good order until towards night, when passing through a forest a sudden panic seized them, and they dispersed in precipitate flight. The next morning Guyon wrote to Kossuth that he could not collect a thousand men, and urged him to hasten the arrival of Görgey; the Russian and Austrian Generals, however, allowed five days to elapse without attempting to engage the remnant of the Hungarian army, and the soldiers gradually returned to their duty and were re-assembled at Lugos. Kossuth always intended, in case of defeat, that a retreat should be made into the mountains of Transylvania, and Bem therefore prepared to execute this design.

But all was not yet lost for Hungary; on the 5th of August Klapka made a sally from Komorn, pushed on to Raab and dispersed the Austrian army of observation, carrying off 3,000 prisoners, all their artillery, and 2,500 head of cattle, with other stores intended for Haynau's army. Vienna was unprotected, and but for intelligence of the disasters before Temesvar, Klapka intended to have marched his troops to the gates of the Austrian Capital where only

8,000 men were left to oppose him ; Görgey's army also was still powerful enough to arrest the progress of the enemy. With the collected remnants of the army of the South, under such successful and fearless leaders as Bem and Guyon, with the efficient troops of Klapka under their able General, opposed to Austria in her present weak condition, with the gallant army and able officers under Görgey, with the fortress of Arad still in the hands of the Hungarians, with the people always ready to answer the call of Kossuth, whose energies were unwearied and courage dauntless, the country might have a second time driven out the combined armies of Austria and Russia ; but what army or what nation can resist the machinations of false friends and hidden foes ? *

It was well known among the troops that Görgey had been long carrying on secret negotiations with the Russians, and in the belief that his aim was to re-establish a constitutional Monarchy, with their aid, his intrigues were approved of by some among them. Nagy Sándor, ever a staunch friend to truth and honour, was however on the watch, and, as has been already related, arrested a female relative of Görgey's at Tokay, on whose person papers were found which bore a clear proof of the understanding existing between the commander and the army. The overtures made to Görgey on the part of Russia, " offering to guarantee the constitution and laws of 1848, provided the Grand Duke Constantine were placed upon the throne of Hungary," was communicated by him to the Government towards the end of July, and was eagerly embraced by Szamere and Casimir Batthyanyi.

After receiving Guyon's letter, Kossuth had every reason to believe that the only army remaining to Hungary was that of the Upper Danube ; Görgey had just arrived in Arad, and the Governor was unwilling to frustrate any scheme which appeared to his Ministers to hold out a prospect of se-

curing the independence of Hungary. He, therefore, would not now oppose Görgey's proposition of a Russian Prince, but permitted Szemere and Batthyanyi to go to the Russian camp, in order to ascertain the real intentions of the enemy, and open negotiations. Their errand was fruitless, and a Cabinet Council was accordingly summoned to deliberate on measures for the public safety; it was there resolved to invest Görgey with full powers to treat with the enemy, and that the Government (which under present circumstances could not be carried on in any one particular place) should be dissolved. Görgey declined to accept the commission, because, he asserted, the Government, though temporarily dissolved, had not resigned, and therefore the enemy would not enter into negotiations as long as Kossuth and the Ministers might resume the power into their own hands. He then put the question to Kossuth, whether, unassisted and alone, he thought he could still save the country, to which the Governor replied, that he certainly could not, without the aid of Görgey. Görgey then declared, he could and would save Hungary, provided Kossuth immediately resigned, and that he himself was appointed Dictator.*

The Ministers accordingly met, and after a short consultation, resolved, that as they ought not to stand in the way of negotiations, they would send in their resignation to Kossuth, requesting him at the same time to follow their example. He immediately complied, but stipulated, as

* Görgey thus writes in his Memoirs, his opinion of his own capacity for the dictatorship: "Why would the dictatorship have been an impossibility; yea, an absurdity in my hands? Because I had lived from my earliest youth till April, 1848, beyond the limits of my native land, . . . because I was almost totally unacquainted with the manners, customs, and legal institutions of the land, because I am without even the most superficial knowledge in matters of civil administration." &c.

an express condition, "*that Görgey should preserve the nationality and autonomy of Hungary, and that he should use the powers transmitted to him, to obtain by negotiation, an honourable peace for the country, or failing that, to defend it to the last.*" He believed that when Görgey's ambition had been thus gratified, he would spare no effort to preserve Hungary. * Csányi, Aulich, Horváth, and Vukovics witnessed the act of abdication; Szemere and Casimir Batthyanyi being absent.

Kossuth's last address to the nation was in these words:—

"After the unfortunate battles with which God, in these last days has visited our people, we have no hope of a successful continuation of the defence against the allied armies of Russia and Austria. Under such circumstances, the preservation of the national existence and its protection resides in the leaders of the army. I am convinced, that the continuation of the present Government would not only prove useless, but injurious to the nation. Acting upon this conviction, I proclaim, that, impelled by that patriotism which has throughout my life made me devote all my energies to my country, I, and with me, the whole Cabinet, resign the guidance of public affairs, and that the supreme civil and military power is herewith conferred on General Arthur Görgey, until the nation, making use of its right, shall have disposed of that power according to its will. I expect of the said General Görgey, and I make him responsible to God, the nation, and to posterity, that, according to the best of his ability, he will use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence of our unfortunate country, and of its future existence. May he love his country with that disinterested love I bear it! May his endeavours to recover the independence and

happiness of the nation be crowned with greater success than mine!

"I have it no longer in my power to assist my country by my actions. If my death can benefit it, I will gladly sacrifice my life. May the God of justice and of mercy watch over my poor people.

"LOUIS KÖSSUTH,
S. VUKOVICS,
L. CSÁNYI,
M. HORVÁTH."

The Dictator next issued his proclamation as follows:—

"CITIZENS,

"The Provisional Government has ceased to exist. The Governor and the Ministers have voluntarily resigned their offices. Under these circumstances a Military Dictatorship is necessary, and it is I who accept it, together with the civil power of the state.

"Citizens! Whatever can be done for the country in our precarious condition I intend to do; be it by means of arms, or by negotiations. I intend to do all in my power to lessen the painful sacrifice of life and treasure, and to put a stop to persecution, cruelty, and murder.

"Citizens! The events of our times are astounding, and the blows of fate overwhelming. Such a state of things defies all calculation. My only advice and desire is, that you quietly return to your homes, and that you eschew making any attempts at resistance or combat, even though your cities are in the occupation of the enemy. You can only obtain safety for your persons and property by remaining quietly at home, and by peaceably following the course of your usual occupations.

"Citizens! It is for us to bear whatever it may please

God in his inscrutable wisdom to send us. Let our strength be the strength of men, and let us find comfort in the conviction that right and justice must weather all storms.

“Citizens! May God be with us!”

“ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

“*Arád, 11th August, 1849.*”

So implicitly did the officers who surrounded Görgey trust in his faith and honour, that they made no inquiries as to the terms he intended to offer to the Russians. Count Esterhazy, Count Bethlen, and Count Schmidegg, carried his letter to the Russian General Rüdiger, with the offer of the unconditional surrender of the main Hungarian army, without being aware of its contents. On the 13th of August Rüdiger came to Világos, where Görgey resigned to him 24,000^a men, and an immense park of artillery. The soldiers were told that their arms would be returned to them, and that the Russians, led by the Grand-Duke Constantine, would march with them against the Austrians. The officers were received with marked cordiality, and were allowed to retain their swords. Görgey and General Kiss were entertained at the table of the Russian General, and were treated with the highest distinction in the presence of Austrian officers. The tidings of the manner in which they had been received, induced other Hungarian Generals to follow their example, and Damianics, who was still disabled with his broken leg, was the first to surrender. Brave, simple, and confiding, he did not suspect treachery in his former commander. Vecsey with 10,000 men followed, and Colonel Kazinczy and the Transylvanian corps were the next to lay down their arms, though stipulating for the same conditions with those granted to Görgey, little suspecting that none had been demanded. Even the Ex-Minister Csányi went to the Russian camp and surren-

dered himself, and the Austrian General, Lichtenstein, wrote to Dessweffy, who had formerly been his personal friend, inviting him to yield, and rest assured of the protection of an old comrade. The garrison of Peterwardein, after some resistance, yielded to the Russians on certain conditions. Görgey had already surrendered Arad. The first act on the part of the Russians which opened the eyes of the army to the fatal step into which they had been betrayed, was the delivery of Arad into the hands of Haynau. Görgey next ordered the Hungarian troops to range themselves in two columns on each side of the Szollos road. Mounting his horse, and surrounded by his staff, he rode into their ranks, and told them it was no longer in his power to defend the army, but if any one was willing to assume the command, he would gladly yield his place to him.

They listened in silent despair, but as he ended, an old soldier sprang forward, and entreated him to let them cut their way through the hostile army. His commander answered, it was no time for jesting, and passed on. The soldiers of so many battles wept with grief and indignation, while some put an end to their own lives, and others shot their horses, which could never more bear them to fight for the cause of Hungary. The following morning they commenced a march of eight days to Sarkad under a Russian escort, while the enemy advanced upon Komorn, which Klapka refused to surrender, though the demand was accompanied by a letter from Görgey. The rest of the Hungarian Generals had already been placed in custody in Arad. Haynau wished immediately to lead them to execution, but was stopped by a special message from the Emperor, who desired him to await the issue of the siege of Komorn. The Countess Karolyi, sister-in-law to Count Louis Batthyanyi, had entered the fortress, and was anxious

that *his* life at least should be stipulated for. After many deliberations, on the 3rd of October Klapka at length consented to capitulate, but only demanded that the garrison should be allowed to secure a portion of its pay, and to retire unmolested; the following day he hastened to Presburg to obtain a passport for himself for England. On the 5th of October, Haynau brought his prisoners before a court-martial; and on the 6th the sentence of death was executed upon them. General Kiss, who possessed considerable wealth, and to whom Radetzky was under pecuniary obligations, was shot. The debt was cancelled by the Emperor, and his young nephew and heir doomed to poverty and exile. Dessweffy was condemned to be hung, but at the request of his friend, Prince Lichtenstein, he was permitted to die a soldier's death. Schweidel and Török met the same fate. General Aulich was the first to suffer the ignominious punishment of hanging, after him the young Count Leiningen, the cousin of the Queen of England, who had refused the means offered for his escape, because a beloved relative was among the condemned. Generals Nagy Sándor, Lahner, Poltenberg, Knezich, Vecsey, Lazar, Colonel Kazinczy, and General Damianics, all died upon the gibbet. When the turn of Damianics came, he asked in scorn, "How is it that I, the first in the fire, am here the last?" The executions lasted from six in the morning to ten; and the unhappy men, who died last were doomed to witness the death of their comrades.

That same day, another execution had taken place in Pesth, which caused universal sorrow and indignation. From the 8th of January, when Louis Batthyanyi had been first imprisoned, he had been dragged from place to place; from Presburg to Olmütz and Laibach, again to Presburg, and lastly to Pesth. He was here tried by the order of Prince Windischgratz, before the Central Committee of

Inquiry, which Batthyanyi declared to be incompetent, and he at first refused to answer any interrogatories. But after the accusation had been read, he wished to justify the part he had taken in the October Revolution, and was so far successful, that no mention was made of it in the sentence which condemned him to death. He still maintained the incompetence of the Tribunal to inquire into his actions as a Minister, and refused to answer more until he was persuaded by his friends to speak. He, in the first place, demanded legal assistance, and requested that the ex-Minister of Justice, Francis Deak, should act as his advocate; this was denied. He appealed for witnesses to the Palatine, to several of the Imperial family, and even the former Ministers of the Austrian Cabinet, but they were refused by his Judges. Even the documents at first allowed him to prove his innocence, were subsequently withdrawn. He underwent three trials; by the last he was condemned to die on the gibbet, and on the 5th October was conducted into the condemned cell; from thence he was permitted, as a favour, to send an open letter to his wife, who immediately came to him, but was denied to see him by Field-Marshal Kemper, acting in accordance with the instructions he had received from Haynau. Towards evening, however, she gained admittance through the mediation of Prince Lichtenstein, but on condition that her meeting with her husband should be in the presence of several witnesses. When, on the morning of the 6th October, Batthyanyi was to be conducted to execution, he was discovered lying in a faint state from loss of blood, having attempted to escape an ignominious death by committing suicide: though the attempt had failed, the execution was obliged to be delayed a few hours, and hanging was now impossible; he was therefore shot that afternoon, his last words being, "God bless the country." His wife and children were left to poverty and exile, as all his estates were forfeited to the Crown.

A few days afterwards the aged Csányi, with others who had acted in a civil capacity, were hung. All the officers who had never been in service before they joined the Hungarian army, were forced into the Austrian ranks as private soldiers; and those who had previously served were placed under arrest. Transylvania was committed to the tender mercies of Urban, a cruel and vindictive man. Officers, soldiers, citizens, and even women were led to execution. The wife of a lawyer, of the name of Csát, was condemned to be flogged for having given shelter to her own son-in-law. She took down a portrait of Kossuth, kissed it, pressed it to her heart, and fearlessly went to undergo her punishment, which was, however, in her case commuted.

Followed by the curses of a whole nation, despised by those he had served by his treachery, with the blood of the bravest and best of Hungary upon his head, Görgey, still immovable and proud, and therefore the more deserving of pity, was conducted by the Russians through Upper Hungary and Galicia into Moravia, and there delivered over to the Austrians. He lives in an obscure Austrian village, upon a pension of 60,000 florins, granted him by the Emperor: a man gifted with intellectual power, though it seems over-estimated as a general, who has lived to prove to the world of how little value, in a great cause, is a head without a heart.*

* Görgey's talents as a general are thus rated by one who served under him, and who has given honourable testimony to the genius of Bem, Mészáros, and the remaining heroes of the Hungarian war:—"Görgey is no great general, not even a little one; he is a *great chemist*, who has dissolved Hungary by strategic means; he is a serjeant, a brave serjeant, and nothing more. With much energy he could arrange one or two routed or disordered battalions, and turn fugitives by a glancing sabre. But these are achievements for the narrative of a serjeant. Even the enemy would seem to have judged

On the 1st of August, Lord Palmerston had written a despatch to Vienna, offering to mediate, *if Austria desired it*. The Russians were then in the very centre of Hungary, the assistance of the Autocrat had enabled Austria to overthrow a constitutional Government, and destroy the freedom of fifteen millions of human beings; and England, after refusing her services while there was yet time, offered to stay the hand of the destroyer when the death-struggle had already commenced.

In 1839 Paget wrote thus:—"The interests of Europe, of humanity, require that the ambition of Russia should receive a check. She is preparing the way for future conquest in the South of Europe, and to these conquests Wallachia and Moldavia are the high road. These countries have no force which could enable them to resist her invading army a single day, nor is it possible that for centuries they can have. Independent, therefore, these provinces cannot be; the question then is, to whom they shall belong? Hungary is the only power which could hold them with safety to herself and others. Let Hungary offer the principalities a frank union, a fair share in the advantages of her constitution, and an equality of rights and privileges, and I have no doubt the Wallachians would gladly join themselves to a country which could guarantee them a national existence, civil and religious freedom, and an identity of material interests. Hungary, too, would gladly accept a share in the trade of the Black Sea, and might probably be induced to give up her claims on Galicia for such a compensation—and then, with Constitutional Poland reinstated in her integrity on the one side, and Constitutional Hungary intervening on the other,

him so, for he was amnestied with all the serjeants of the late Hungarian army."—*General George Kmety*.

the fears of invasion from absolute Russia would be an idle bugbear, unworthy a moment's fear; *but from no other combination can Europe ever be safe.*"

Where is Hungary now? Russia was invited by Austria to break down the second and strongest barrier which impeded her conquest in Europe. England, France, and Prussia gave a tacit consent to the proceedings of the Czar. One barrier only remains; what wonder then if Nicholas, encouraged by the conduct of the Powers at this period, attempt to destroy the last obstacle between him and the ambition of his race, from the time of the Great Peter; and on whom does the blame rest, if Europe is again a scene of war and bloodshed? Surely the selfishness of nations, as of individuals is short-sighted, and a just retribution must visit those who have refused to interpose their influence to save from destruction the lives and liberties of the only great nation in Continental Europe, whose people can boast a constitution of eight centuries.

* "Look how the House of Austria on both sides of Christendom are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant interests, . . . Is not the king of Hungary, (*Ferdinand III.*, grandson, not son of *Ferdinand II.*) the son of a father whose principles, interest, and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country—out of Bohemia with the sword, out of Moravia and Silesia? and it is the daily complaint which comes over to us, . . . that the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into the Empire, and out thence, whither they can fly to get their bread! But it may be said, This is a great way off, in the remotest parts of the world; what is that to us? If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England."—*Speech of Oliver Cromwell to the English Parliament, upon the state of the Protestant interests in Hungary and the Austrian Empire in 1658. Carlyle's Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 625.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1849, 1850, 1851.

Comparison of Görgey with Kossuth—Kossuth escapes into Turkey with the rest of the Hungarian Generals—The Ambassadors of Austria and Russia demand they shall be given up—The Sultan offers his protection on condition of their becoming Mahometans—Kossuth refuses—He writes to Lord Palmerston—The Sultan refuses to give up the Hungarians—Public meetings in England—Official correspondence between England and the Porte—Kossuth in Widdin—General Hauslab and Guyon—News of the surrender of Komorn and the death of Batthyányi reach Widdin—Admiral Parker in the Dardanelles—Letter of Sir Stratford Canning—Removal of the Hungarians to Skumla—Removal to Kutahia—Kossuth is joined by his wife and children—Writes a Turkish Grammar—Senator Foote of the United States moves in Congress for the liberation of the Hungarians—The American and English Governments offer to send a ship for the conveyance of Kossuth—He accepts the American—Expresses his thanks to the American and British Governments—The Hungarians are still detained—Petitions of the English people to hasten their release.

IN Görgey and Kossuth, the evil and the good genius of Hungary had struggled for ascendancy, and the evil had been permitted to prevail; yet even here may be traced the hand of the Almighty Ruler of events, who tries the purest metal in the fire of adversity. The characters of men had

been exhibited in their true light, hypocrisy had been unmasked, and the weak foundations of pride, folly, personal ambition, and mis-called honour, on which the disciples of Görgey had built the temple of his fame, had been laid bare; while on the other hand, the lesson had been taught, that constitutional freedom can only be established on the strong basis of brotherly love, humanity, and even-handed justice. Kossuth had governed as the representative and executive power of the nation: he had assisted to maintain its integrity, but had not presumed to dictate its conduct. The benefits which an individual may confer upon a nation can only be temporary, superficial, unreal: and without the knowledge acquired by experience, a people must want that moral training, ordained by a Higher Wisdom, to be the only path by which rational and enduring freedom can be attained. As Kossuth himself observes, in his speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, 14th May, 1852, "Freedom never yet was given to nations as a gift, but only as a reward, bravely earned by one's own exertions, own sacrifices, and own toil, and never will, never shall it be attained otherwise."

With the greatest and best who have visited this earth, Kossuth ever chose the *right* before the *expedient*: the last may triumph for a time, but the first is eternal as the law of God. As a statesman, he had striven to enlighten and guide, but never attempted to force others to act upon his views and opinions, before their own understandings were convinced. If it had been possible to have removed Görgey when the first suspicions dawned upon him, of his hatred, and of his restless ambition, Kossuth must have acted in direct opposition to the convictions of the majority of those who surrounded him, and condemned Görgey solely by the estimate he himself had formed of his character. Time and opportunity were still wanting to prove his guilt, therefore

such condemnation would have been worse than impolitic, it would have been unjust. Kossuth was not a General; he was neither a Cæsar nor a Napoleon; come what might, he followed the dictates of his conscience, and would not be guilty of one unlawful act, even to save his beloved country in an hour of danger. He left Hungary outwardly crushed and fallen, but stronger in spirit, more united, and more attached to her constitution and her liberties, than in the halcyon days of her seeming prosperity.

On the 18th August, Kossuth with about 5,000 fugitives, crossed the frontiers of Turkey at Orsova, having received the assurance of the Pacha at Widdin, that he would be received as the guest of the Sultan. He was joined by Bem, Perczel, Mészáros, Dembinski, Guyon, and Kméty. No sooner did the intelligence of their arrival reach Constantinople, than the Ambassadors of Russia and Austria demanded they should be given up to them. A message was sent by the Sultan, at the suggestion of Reschid Pacha, that he could only afford them his protection on condition of their becoming Mohammedans, as to deliver a true believer to his enemies is, in Turkey, considered an unpardonable crime. Several of the officers, and amongst others, Bem, complied with the condition; the old soldier was no theologian, and in adopting the rule of Mahomet, he did not forsake that of Christ. A council was held on the subject, in the apartment occupied by Kossuth, when he addressed his compatriots in these words; "I do not pretend to control the conduct of any of my countrymen; every man's religious convictions are a matter which rests only between him and his God, and consistently with that sincerity and truth to which I have always strictly adhered, I can hold out no hope that, if they refuse the offer made them, their extradition could be averted; and, if given up to Austria, I know its Cabinet too well, to allow me to cherish for a moment

the illusion, that any mercy would be vouchsafed. But, nevertheless, for my own part, when asked to abjure the faith of my forefathers, through terror of the executioner, welcome rather the gibbet and the block.'

• Casimir Batthyanyi, Guyon, Zamoyaki, Monti, and Dembinski refused the offer with equal determination. The Turks were placed in an awkward dilemma; for though Sir Stratford Canning urged the Sultan to refuse compliance with the demands of Austria and Russia, he would not promise any assistance from England, if the result of following his advice should draw down an invasion of Turkey by the two Powers. Kossuth wrote to Lord Palmerston in this emergency, and explained the dangers to which he and his associates in misfortune were exposed; but a difficulty arose as to the manner by which the letter could be conveyed. An Englishman, of the name of Roger Casement happened to be present when Kossuth consulted Captain Henningsen, a British officer who had served in Hungary. Henningsen asked Casement if he would undertake to be the bearer of the letter: time was of the utmost importance; Casement immediately consented, and having surmounted many obstacles and dangers, conveyed the despatch in safety to its destination in ten days. In the meantime, the decision of the Divan was unfavourable to the refugees, but the Sultan addressing his ministers, declared, that having trusted to his honour, his justice, and his religion, the Hungarians should not be deceived, and that sooner than give them up to Austria, he would accept war; though as a precautionary measure, he consented that they should be detained as prisoners, until he knew how far England and France would support him.

The cause of the unfortunate exiles had begun to excite the sympathy of the English people, and a public meeting had been held in London presided over by Lord Dudley

Stuart. On September 24, 1849, Lord Palmerston wrote to Sir Stratford Canning as follows:—

“ *Foreign Office, Sept. 24, 1849.*

“ SIR,

“ With reference to the note mentioned in your Excellency’s despatch of the 25th ultimo, wherein the Austrian Government demands from the Porte the extradition of the persons who have lately come from Hungary to take refuge within the Turkish dominions; I have to observe to your Excellency that, even if the 18th Article of the Treaty of Belgrade,* of which the copy is annexed, did properly apply to the officers and soldiers of the Hungarian army who might be driven to seek shelter within the Turkish territory, that article does not contain any engagement on the part of the Porte to give such persons up to the Austrian Government, and the utmost that could be demanded would be that they should not be allowed to reside permanently in the Turkish Empire.

“ But the 18th Article of the Treaty of Belgrade obviously relates to cases of a very different kind from that of the war which has just ended between Austria and Hungary; *and it would be a strained interpretation of that Article to construe it to apply to the officers and soldiers of the Hungarian armies who have been fighting for the Constitutional rights of Hungary against the armies of Austria and Russia; such officers and soldiers cannot be deemed to be the persons intended to be described by the expression, ces sortes de gens, or to be classed with voleurs et brigands, &c.*”

* Article 18. Treaty of Belgrade, Sept. 18th, 1739. “Henceforth, asylum and refuge shall no longer be afforded to evil doers, or to discontented and rebellious subjects, but each of the contending parties shall be compelled to punish people of this description, as also robbers and brigands, even when subjects of the other party.”

Again, October 6th, Lord Palmerston writes: . . . "It is therefore the intention of her Majesty's Government to enter immediately into communication with the French Government in order to concert a common course of proceeding. That which her Majesty's Government intend to propose is that the Government shall, without delay, make earnest and friendly representations to the Governments of Vienna and St. Petersburg to induce them to desist from their demands for the surrender of the Hungarians and Poles who have taken refuge in Turkey; and her Majesty's Government cannot but indulge the hope that so reasonable a request, proposed by Great Britain and France, may be attended with success. . . . It is difficult to understand why the Turkish Government has not taken that step which seems so obviously calculated to have relieved it from the embarrassment created by the demands of the two Imperial Governments; the demand made is for the surrender of persons within the Turkish territory, and as long as those persons remain within that territory the demand may continue to be pressed and to be made the subject of discussion; but if these refugees, or at least those who being the chief persons among them, are the principal objects of the demand, had quitted the Turkish territory, the discussion would have ceased to have any practical purpose, inasmuch as the Porte would then have been asked to deliver up persons who would no longer have been within the territory of Turkey.

"It cannot be supposed that such refugees can be otherwise than desirous to quit the Turkish territory, or that they would think it any hardship to be requested to pass on and to choose some other country for their place of residence, and if there were no other means of conveyance available for them, Sir William Parker would no doubt be able to assist them in making their passage towards some other part of Europe, if the Porte should not have entered into any en-

gagement with the two Imperial Governments which could be at variance with such an arrangement, &c."

Kossuth meantime was placed in the best house in Widdin, and shown every mark of courtesy and respect; the Turkish people, though alarmed lest the Russian troops on the other side of the Danube should attempt to enter their territories and carry off the refugees by force, never thought of securing their own safety by a less generous conduct than their Sultan. English horses, saddles, sabres, and five-and-twenty horsemen were placed at the disposal of Guyon, that, in case of an attack by the Russians, Kossuth and the principal Hungarians might cut their way through the enemy.

Sickness had entered the camp and decimated the private soldiers, who entreated to be led back to Hungary, if only armed with sticks, and be permitted to die in their own country sooner than perish in Turkey. The intelligence of this disposition of the Hungarian soldiers was conveyed to the Austrian General, Hauslab, who immediately sent to offer them an amnesty if they would return to Hungary. Kossuth refused to interfere, and about two thousand recrossed the Danube; Guyon hearing that the Austrian General, besides enticing away the soldiers, had been speaking in terms of contempt of their leaders, went in search of him armed with a horsewhip; Hauslab and his officers immediately retreated on board a steamer, from whence they threatened vengeance though not daring to land, while Guyon walked to and fro armed with his weapon, much to the amusement of the Turks, and then finished with tearing down an abusive proclamation placarded upon the door of the Austrian Consul.

The news of the surrender of Komorn, of the death of Batthyanyi, and of the brave Generals and others executed by Haynau, spread gloom and sorrow over the exiles at Widdin.

Kossuth seldom went out and never appeared in the camp; he was attended upon by Colonel Ashboth, General Dembinski, an interpreter, and his host, the chief of the police. A Turkish officer who accompanied him whenever he went out, with a few Albanian servants, formed his retinue; at the end of October the fleet of Admiral Parker entered the Dardanelles, and from that hour the threats of Austria and Russia against Turkey ceased.

Sir Stratford Canning wrote early in November to Lord Palmerston; "It is greatly to be wished that the Turkish Government may find itself at liberty to substitute the expulsion of the refugees from Turkey for their detention in the interior of the country." This desire on the part of the English Ambassador was fulfilled, when the exiles were removed from Widdin to Shumla. The generous supplies granted by the Sultan for the Hungarians were, however, accidentally delayed, and in their new place of residence they suffered greatly from many privations and hardships, in consequence of which Sir Stratford Canning wrote to the Turkish Government to represent their condition. In January, 1850, they were removed to Kutahia, in compliance with the desire of the Austrian Government. Sir Stratford Canning again wrote to Lord Palmerston from Therapia, January 19th, 1850; "My Lord, inclosed herewith is the list of Hungarian and other Austrian subjects retained at Shumla, and about to be conveyed to Kutahia, in execution of the Porte's engagements to Austria, &c.

"Liste des Chefs de l'insurrection Hongroise qui d'après l'engagement contracté de la part de la Sublime Porte devront être internés et surveillés de manière à ce qu'ils ne puissent désormais plus se livrer à une entreprise quelconque qui serait dirigée contre l'ordre légal dans les Etats Autrichiens.

"KOSSUTH, (LOUIS), Président du Gouvernement Hongrois, &c. &c. &c."

Though the English Government had acknowledged that the Hungarian war was a struggle for the maintenance of constitutional liberty, there appears to have been no attempt at this time for the liberation of the chiefs.

The three 'children of Kossuth, with their tutor, had meantime been seized, and thrown into prison at Presburg. They were confined there six months, and kept on prisoners' fare, until Haynau himself ordered they should be better fed. Their aunt, Madame Meszlenyi, at length succeeded in obtaining their liberation, and permission that they should be entrusted to her care, and that of their grandmother in Pesth. The tradespeople of the town, who were employed to make their shoes and clothes, refused to receive payment, and the peasantry brought them offerings of fowls, bread, and other provisions. Those who were poorest even, denied themselves, to give to the children of Kossuth; they were to them a pledge that "the Deliverer" would return to Hungary. The interest they excited was such, that the Austrian Government at last thought it most advisable to send them to their father. Their mother had already effected her escape and joined him at Shumla; a price of 20,000 florins had been set upon her head by the Austrian Government, and it was only after undergoing a series of hair-breadth escapes, marvellous adventures, and hardships, that she crossed the Hungarian frontier, and reached her husband, exhausted in mind and body.* Their children did not join them in Kutahia until May, 1850. The Hungarians were there treated by the Turks with the utmost hospitality and friendship, and as a testimony of their respect for Kossuth and his companions, they even behaved with greater courtesy than formerly to

* See *White, Red, and Black*, by Francis and Theresa Pulszky, vol. i. p. 17.

the Christian inhabitants of the place. Kossuth did not waste his time in vain regrets and lamentations, but was occupied with laying plans for the future deliverance of his country, founded upon past experience. His leisure hours were spent in studying the language of the country he was in, and in the composition of a Turkish Grammar, which is now used in the common schools.

In the summer of 1850, no further effort having been made by England for the liberation of the exiles, Senator Foote, of the United States, moved a resolution in the Senate, that America should exert her influence in their behalf. The English and French Governments expressed their approbation of the conduct of America; and as soon as the Sultan, (who had risked the safety of Turkey to protect the Hungarian refugees,) received the assurance of the support of America and England, he not only attached no condition to their liberation, but gave them the choice of an English or American vessel to carry them whithersoever they pleased. They chose the American, and Kossuth received an official intimation from the English Government, that the only reason an English vessel had not been sent to the Dardanelles for his use was, that the Hungarians themselves had determined it otherwise. When Kossuth heard that in the resolution of Congress the word emigrant had been applied to him and his companions, he thought it his duty to declare that he must not be considered in any other light, but as one who, though forced into exile, would use every effort to recover the independence of his country, and return to Hungary. The Legation of the United States at Constantinople replied, that no restraint would be put upon his liberty, when he gratefully accepted their offer, and wrote a letter of thanks to the President, while Pulszky, as his diplomatic agent in England, expressed the gratitude of his countrymen, in a similar letter to the Secretary of State in London.

It was not however until 1851 that their liberation was effected. Their long detention awakened the sympathy of the English people, and forty-five cities, including London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Leicester, and Southampton, sent petitions in behalf of the Hungarian refugees, which were laid before the British Government on the 4th of August.

CHAPTER XXIX.

September, October, 1851.

Kossuth receives a communication from Mazzini—Sketch of Mazzini—Kossuth entrusts an address to the Hungarian soldiers to his care—Opinions of Kossuth on the best form of Government for Hungary—The Mississippi war steamer—Arrival at Marseilles—Kossuth requests to be allowed to land—Is refused—His reception by the people of Marseilles—His address to them—Effect of this address upon the English public.

WHILE in Kutahia, Kossuth received his first communication from Mazzini. It was an offer of friendship and assistance which was not rejected. He appreciated the virtues of a man, who has been acknowledged, even by his political enemies, to bear an unblemished character. The vices of vanity and ambition (and great sins they are in a patriot) have been laid to his charge; he has been equally accused of indiscretion and want of judgment, and those who know him only by name, have whispered the word in horror, as if it belonged to some dark and bloody-minded conspirator. Few know, that after resigning country, home, a beloved mother, and all worldly advantages, he has lived on a pit-

tance barely sufficient to support life, and, unknown and •unbefriended, except by a few, has assisted starving exiles, cared for the education of the poor little Italian wanderers in England, and done many a deed of charity for which a richer man would have been commended. Calumniated, and without the means to refute calumnies, an object of suspicion to the very Government under whose protection he resides, his own sorrows have been forgotten in those of his country; and though opinions may differ whether he has always adopted the wisest course for its redemption, none can doubt that he has missed no opportunity, spared himself no suffering, feared no danger, in the attempt to free Italy from the yoke of foreign despotism; his sanguine • spirit ever rising buoyant on the waves of adversity.

While Hungary was making her last struggle, Mazzini had triumphed and fallen. Generous, though impulsive, and of so sensitive a nature that he could not even sign a death warrant, he nevertheless ruled over Rome for nearly five months, while besieging soldiers were without, and a turbulent people and lawless troops within, and yet only one act of violence was committed; not a work of art was injured, and not a palace pillaged. The secrets of Papal tyranny were disclosed, the captives of many years liberated, and the English residents could bear witness to the moderation • and the loyalty of the Triumvir. The jealousy or treachery of Charles Albert and of some of his party, with the army of Republican France, ruined Mazzini, and restored Italy once more to Austria; but they could not stifle the hatred to their foreign rulers which lay deep in the heart of the people, nor quench the hope that circumstances might yet arise to enable them to shake off the yoke of the Oppressor. It was believed that the officers and soldiers of the late Hungarian army, who had been forced into the army of Austria, which thus constituted a kind of galleys for political

offenders, would, when the moment presented itself, join the standard of the people, and with their assistance, the success of the popular party might be achieved. A premature attempt would however only have endangered the cause, and have entailed more suffering upon unhappy Hungary. Kossuth was anxious to avert so dreadful a calamity, and fearing lest an insurrection might occur while he was yet detained in Turkey, he sent to Mazzini from Kutahia an address to the Hungarian soldiers, which in such an event he desired should be shown to them. It contained an exhortation to refrain from all action, and only to be prepared for the time when he himself would be there to lead them. What use Mazzini made of this address on a later occasion, it will be the melancholy duty of this history to record.

A calm review of the occurrences of the past year had considerably altered the opinion of Kossuth, respecting the form of Government which, under existing circumstances, would be most advantageous for Hungary. He had adhered, as long as possible, to the system of a Constitutional Monarchy under the House of Hapsburg. When, by the abrogation of the Hungarian Constitution, the Emperor of Austria had himself dissolved the only tie by which Hungary had ever acknowledged the supremacy of his family, the influence of Kossuth had produced the Declaration of Independence, which did not proclaim a Republic, but only held the crown in abeyance. He had unceasingly laboured to defeat the theory and practice of centralization, and he considered that any form of administration which secured the self-government of the people was not only conducive to the maintenance of their rights and liberties, but to their intellectual and moral growth. Monarchies, abstractedly considered, are adverse to municipal institutions, because the benefits conferred by the paternal rule of a single head must descend from the individual, and preclude the habit of

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independent action in the people. In the earliest period of her history, Hungary had been republican. The chief or Grand Duke was only a leader in war, while the laws and institutions of the country emanated from the people. Under the kings which followed, the nation had been ever struggling for the preservation of municipal forms of Government against the centralizing tendencies of the Court. The native loyalty of the people to their Prince sprang, like all true loyalty, from the feeling that he was their own free choice, and therefore belonged to them, as they to him. As by the consent of the Hungarian Diet in 1667, the throne, under certain conditions, became hereditary in the House of Hapsburg, it was only by the voluntary renunciation of these conditions on the part of the Sovereign in 1849, that the tie had been dissolved. Nevertheless, as Kossuth was on principle hostile to any attempt to make a revolution, and to any act subversive of the existing condition of society, and as the Hungarian form of Government recognized a King as a part of the constitution of the State, he did not desire to set aside the Monarchy. When provisional Governor of Hungary, he, in concert with his Ministers, had endeavoured to induce a foreign Prince to accept the vacant throne. In this he had been unsuccessful: not only was the demand unanswered, but while Russia assisted Austria, (not, as Austria asserted, to subdue her rebellious subjects, but to conquer the only kingdom which presented an obstacle to the ambition of the Autocrat*) England, France,

* "The Czar of Russia, in violence of the eternal law of nature, and nature's God, interfered in our struggle, and declared in his proclamations, his intention not only to crush my people, but the spirit of liberty throughout the world, because he considered it inconsistent with his rights, which he was not ashamed to call divine. Hungary was crushed, because our example was considered dangerous to despotism." — *Kossuth's Speech at Newhaven, Massachusetts.*

and Prussia had stood aloof, or abetted, as far as diplomacy could abet, the designs of the two despotic powers. Hungary had looked for mediators and friends, but all had turned away from her. She had learnt that, if she would secure her own independence and freedom, it must be by her unaided efforts against Europe. She had destroyed the armies of Austria once; once again she had driven back the combined forces of Austria and Russia; Russia, before whom England and France had trembled in fear! Hungary, finally had fallen, but by treachery alone; and the real character of those who had aimed at self-aggrandizement under the colours of patriotism had been disclosed. To create a Dynasty within herself would be to raise jealousies, feuds, and all the miseries of civil strife; Kossuth therefore had come to the conclusion, that the political affairs of his native country had reached that climax, in which a Republic was the only possible form of government.

His aim now, as ever, was the restoration of social order, based on the system which has existed since Christian civilization first dawned on Europe. If socialism was to him a visionary dream, the wild schemes of communism appeared fraught with danger, and to threaten once again, like the hordes of Goths and Vandals of old, to overwhelm Europe. He knew that they could not permanently be checked by the violence of despots, nor by the preventive measures suggested by cowardice or timidity. Chains and executions make martyrs, exiles are the surest Propagandists, and even where books are prohibited, and newspapers silenced or made the medium of falsehood, the winds will carry the voice of suffering humanity from the dungeon and the scaffold. Even the dead are not silent.*

* There is a spreading conviction that man was made for a higher purpose than to be a beast of burden, or creature of sense. The divinity is stirring within the human breast, and demanding a culture and a liberty worthy of the child of God.—*Channing.* }

The people unconsciously gather intellectual and moral strength, as the stream rolls onwards through the lapse of ages, and the hand of man cannot stay that which is ordained by Providence. Kossuth could perceive no better means by which to restrain their course within just limits than to repair, strengthen, and improve those forms of Government which had been raised on the foundations of a long-established constitution: if these are once allowed to fall into disuse, by the intentional neglect of despots who worship the ruins of past ages, or to perish by the destructive hand of wild democracy, the river must inundate the land, sweeping away ancient and time-honoured institutions; to subside, perhaps, in some future age, and leave a richer soil from which a new, and possibly a more rational order of society may spring. But such is not the end of the conservative policy of Kossuth; he became a Republican, not because he was of opinion the Republican form of Government is always to be preferred to that of constitutional Monarchy, but because, on the principle that governments like revolutions are of spontaneous growth, he considered it to be the natural and logical result of the broad doctrine of self-government, which is the basis of public law in Hungary.

In the month of September, 1851, the American war-steamer Mississippi at length arrived from New York, for the conveyance of the late Governor of Hungary, his wife, his three children, and his friends to whatever country they desired. Soliman Bey, who had been appointed to guard them when in Kutahia, and who had never failed in the most respectful attention towards his prisoners, was overcome with emotion when Kossuth came to take leave, and in parting said to him; "You are free, and now you will find friends everywhere; do not forget those who were your friends when you had no other." From their first entrance into Turkey to the hour in which they left Kutahia, the Hun-

garians had experienced unvarying kindness, hospitality, and courtesy.

Kossuth proposed to pay a short visit to England on his way to the United States: he had always entertained a deep feeling of admiration and respect for the English law and constitution, and he had a grateful sense of the sympathy lately expressed by the people for him and for his companions. As they approached the coasts of Italy and France, bonfires were kindled along the heights from Niocé to Marseilles, as a sign of rejoicing at the liberation of the Hungarian prisoners. The voyage was stormy and the ladies of the party suffered severely. Madame Kossuth was still in so delicate a state of health that it was considered unsafe for her to proceed on her voyage. Her husband therefore proposed to land in France, and travel with all possible speed across that country to England. He therefore sent to request permission, in a letter addressed to the Prefect of the Bouches du Rhône.

“MONSIEUR LE PRÉFET,

“Delivered from my banishment in Kutahia by the generous mediation of the Governments, friends of humanity, I have just arrived at Marseilles on board the Mississippi, sent expressly to my aid by the Government of the United States. I come to ask from the Government of the French Republic a free passage and protection to cross France, having the intention to go directly to England. I am accompanied by my wife and three children, whom I desire to place in education in London before passing to the United States, and to thank the people and the Government for the generous succour with which they have been so good as to honour my misfortune. My secretary and his family, the tutor of my children, two officers, and a domestic are my

suite. I place my demand, which rests purely upon considerations of humanity, under the protection of French honour, and of your generous sentiments, M. le Prefet, and I have the honour to assure you of my most distinguished consideration.

“L. KOSSUTH.”

“On board the steamer frigate of the United States of America, Mississippi, in the roads of Marseilles.

“September 27th, 1851.”

Kossuth received no answer to this letter, but the Prefect replied in a letter to the American Consul as follows :

“*Marseilles, September 27, 1851.*

“MONSIEUR LE CONSUL

“I have the honour to inform you by the telegraphic despatch which I have just received, the Minister of the Interior announces that the request of M. Kossuth to pass through France on his way to England cannot be granted. M. Kossuth, whose passports have not been *visé* for France by the Minister of the French Republic at Constantinople, having been only allowed to land at Marseilles, in consequence of the desire expressed by him in the interest of the health of his wife and children, I must consider him as still on board the American frigate Mississippi, and therefore make known, M. le Consul, through your mediation, the decision taken by the Minister of the Interior, relative to the demand which he has begged me to present.

“Accept, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of my high consideration.

“SUDEAU

“*Prefect of the Bouches du Rhone.*”

Kossuth was roused to indignation by the reply to

his letter being addressed to another than himself, and still more by the ungracious and inhuman denial of his request, when the health and even safety of his wife were at stake. The people of France however gave him ample demonstration that they were not responsible for the acts of their Government; they crowded around the ship, offering him garlands of laurel, while they presented wreaths of everlasting to the Americans, with repeated cheers for the French Republic, for the United States, and for Kossuth. Before leaving the shores of France he addressed the inhabitants of Marseilles, in words to this effect:—

“CITIZENS,

“The Government of the French Republic having refused me permission to traverse France, the people of Marseilles, yielding to the impulse of one of those generous instincts of the French heart which are the inexhaustible source of the nobleness of your nation, has honoured me by a manifestation of its republican sentiments—a manifestation honourable for its motives, manly for its resolution, peaceable in its ardour, and as majestic in its calmness as nature, the grand image of God, before the tempest. I have heard my name blended with the hymn of the Marseillaise, and with the shouts of the *Vive la République*—a cry which is the only legal one in France; the only one whose legitimacy has been won by the blood of the martyrs of liberty! It is so natural to love liberty! It is so easy to suffer for its sake! It is almost less than mere duty. But there is indeed a supreme glory in the thought of being identified with the principle of liberty in the mind of the French people. I have no desire for glory; but this glory I accept, in order to merit it: I accept it as a pledge of common interests (*solidarité*), and I accept it as a testimony of the fraternity of the French

nation with all nations. I accept it as the sign of salvation for my beloved country. To you, Frenchmen! Republicans! be the honour assigned of saving us; to us poor Hungarians, the duty of deserving to be saved. We shall deserve it! My nation will understand the appeal of your fraternity; it will be proud of it, and bravely respond, as those ought who are honoured in being called 'brothers' by the French people. These are the only thanks worthy of the people of Marseilles; worthy of that manifestation with which they have honoured me: yet not me, but my nation! and in my nation, the past less than the future!

"Permit me to refrain from speaking again of the refusal of the Government of the French Republic to grant me a passage through its territory. I know that the French people are not responsible for, and are not identified with, its acts. I know that neither M. L. N. Bonaparte nor M. Faucher are the French nation. I knew, and I know, that the executive power is delegated to them, but that the honour of the French nation is not in their keeping. I shall not bear their refusal in mind, and I hope that humanity may not remember it either, if by any chance those who have already been in exile, and who appear to have forgotten it, should again be so. Last evening, one of your brethren (of our brethren) an operative of Marseilles—I know his name, and I shall not forget it—came, notwithstanding the cold, swimming through the water, on board the American frigate, to grasp my hand. I pressed his hand with pity, with emotion, and gently reproached him for his temerity. 'Que voulez vous,' he answered; 'I desired to touch your hand, I could not find a boat, I took to the water, and here I am. Are there any obstacles to him who wills?' I bowed before these noble words; the love of liberty, the sentiment of duty and fraternity were mine before coming to Marseilles; but it is at Marseilles I have found the motto, 'There are

no obstacles to him who wills.' That motto shall be mine ;
Vive la République, Salut et Fraternité.

" LOUIS KOSSUTH.

"Marseilles Roads, on board the frigate Mississippi of the United States, September 29th, 1851."

This address of Kossuth to the people of Marseilles preceded him to England, and was read, commented on, and for the most part condemned, by those unacquainted with his previous career, or who did not allow for the circumstances under which it was written.

The Mississippi proceeded from Marseilles to Gibraltar, where Kossuth landed, after bidding a friendly farewell to the American Captain; and the English steamer Madrid conveyed him and his family to Southampton, which he reached on the 23rd October.

CHAPTER XXX.

October, November, 1851.

Kossuth's reception in England—Southampton—Winchester

- *—London—Birmingham—Manchester—Speech at Alexander Henry's, Esq., M.P.—Return to Birmingham—Speech in the Town Hall—Return to London—Leaves England for America.*

KOSSUTH met with the most enthusiastic reception from the English people, and from many of the Hungarian exiles who had been expecting his arrival. The Mayor and Corporation of Southampton went out in boats to the Madrid, to bid him welcome, and he entered the city in a triumphal procession. Various false rumours concerning him, besides

other more substantial reasons, deterred the majority of those of his own rank in society, the aristocracy and gentry of England, from receiving him with equal cordiality.

Soon after the Hungarians had been obliged to take refuge in foreign countries, the Austrian Official Press published libels against Kossuth, Batthyanyi, and Pulszky, which were translated from the original German, into the French and English languages, and an endeavour was made to circulate them in both nations. The Austrian Government appears to have trusted, and not without some show of reason, to the almost entire ignorance existing in England generally, respecting foreign affairs, and men of eminence in distant countries. Crimes were, therefore, unhesitatingly attributed to these gentlemen, whose characters, both in Austria and Hungary, as men of the highest honour and respectability sufficiently refuted, and where the accusation was too monstrous and too palpably false to have gained a moment's credit. If any in England, prompted by a desire for justice, had read the sentences pronounced upon the exiles by the Austrian Government itself, they would have seen that not the slightest allusion was made in them, to that which was now published, when the death of Batthyanyi, the detention of Kossuth, and the banishment of Pulszky, rendered prosecution impossible.

These dastardly attacks were however read by few, and the impression made by them was not so injurious in its effect as the influence of fashion. The aristocracy of birth and wealth, those who on principle favour despotism, or whose fortunes depend on the security of existing Governments, those again who look with apathy and indifference on sufferings with which they do not immediately come into contact, turned with disgust from one who they feared might embroil the country in war, for a cause in which they had little sympathy; and a large class of persons, ignorant of Kossuth's

high position in his own country, and in Vienna, and too indolent to inquire or to form an opinion themselves, waited to follow the lead of the nobility and their satellites.

From the windows of the house of the Mayor of Southampton Kossuth first addressed the English people in the English language, and that evening he made a long speech in the Town Hall where he received addresses from the Corporation, the Operatives, &c., and a Silken Banner was presented to him embroidered by the Hungarian ladies in New York. From Southampton he proceeded to Winchester where a similar reception awaited him, and where at a dinner given on the occasion, at which Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Cobden, and the American Consul, Mr. Croskey, were present, he gave a detailed history of the struggles in Hungary; as his health was in a very precarious state, he left Winchester the next day for London to consult a physician, and returned from thence immediately to Southampton to attend another banquet given him in the Town Hall. On his return to London he was invited to occupy the house of Mr. Massingberd, in Eaton Place; and on the 30th of October he was received by the Civic authorities in Guildhall; he was cheered as he passed through the streets of London by the enthusiastic populace, who by newspapers, which do not often meet the eyes of the upper classes of society, had obtained a more correct knowledge of the real state of Hungary and of the life and actions of Kossuth, than many of those who might have been expected to have been better informed. On the 3rd of November an address was presented to him in Copenhagen Fields, in the neighbourhood of London, where he made one of his most remarkable speeches; he here announced his intention to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of any country save his own, and expressed his respect for the Constitutional Monarchy of England and for the Queen, which he maintained was per-

fectly consistent with his admiration for the Republican form of Government in the United States, and with his present desire that Hungary should also become a Republic. On the 5th of November he received a deputation from the society of the friends of Italy, and on the 10th left London for Birmingham in a state carriage expressly provided for his use; he was welcomed by the cheers of numbers at every station at which the train arrived. In Birmingham he was received by the Borough Members, and spent the night in the house of Mr. Geach; he continued his journey the next morning to Manchester, where he delivered a speech in the Free Trade Hall expressive of the hopes which had been awakened by the demonstrations of sympathy for the cause of Hungary, and his trust that this sympathy would not end in mere expressions, but might have power to influence the English Government to act in behalf of European freedom; he also entered into details, proving that, should Hungary be restored to her Constitutional rights, it would conduce to the commercial prosperity of England, and appealed to those among his audience who belonged to the Peace Associations whether, as Christians, their principles would lead them to be indifferent spectators of the robbery and assassination of their neighbours.

The most distinguished merchants and manufacturers of Manchester assembled in the house of Alexander Henry, Esq., M.P. with a request that Kossuth would give his opinion on those theories which have so much hindered the development of liberal principles, viz. Socialism. He complied with their wishes, and in a speech of considerable length expressed himself as follows:—

“I can understand Communism but not Socialism; I have read many books on the subject; I have consulted many doctors, but they differ so much that I never could understand what they really mean; however, the only sense which

I can see in Socialism is inconsistent with social order and the security of property; . . . believing that, not from my merit, but from the state of my country, I may be able somewhat to influence the course of the next European Revolution; I think it right plainly to declare beforehand my allegiance to the great principle of security for personal property. . . . In the Revolutionary movements of discontented nations, arising from the disappointments of their just expectations, nobody can answer for what fluctuations the public excitement may take. It may be illustrated by the ancient history of the Sybilline books; take Hungary, for instance, three years ago we would have been contented with the laws made by our Parliament of 1848; but then Austria assailed us by arms, and it became impossible for us to go on with that Constitution; then Austria called in the aid of Russian arms, and Hungary was under the necessity of breaking the tie, and only the third book remained; Hungary, even then, did not declare against monarchy, but instructed her representative in England to say to the Government of that country, that if they wished to see monarchy established we would accept any dynasty they proposed, but it was not listened to; then came the horrors of Arad and destroyed all our faith in the monarchy, so the last of the three books was burned.

“And so it is wherever the rational expectations of the people are not fulfilled, it is not known when their fluctuations will end, therefore it is the duty of every rational man who is anxious for the preservation of person and property to help the world in obtaining rational freedom; all these new doctrines will vanish if the people are allowed to settle their affairs in a peaceable manner; and I am firmly resolved to use all the influence which Providence may place in my hands in the next great struggle, in such a manner that no doctrines should rule the destinies of mankind which are

subversive of social order. . . . England is in that happy condition that she has no occasion for revolution and will not have it; England loves her Queen, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the mighty power of holding such meetings as I have lately had the honour to address. England has her Parliament which is more or less the representative of public opinion; by all these means peaceful progress is secured, but you know that history, that book of life, teaches us one thing, that every age has had its ruling principle, and that these principles have directed the whole world. There were the crusades, for instance; then feudalism, lastly, the Reformation; all Europe was shaken by these principles; and so it is with those principles that, when one of them starts up, no nation can avoid feeling its influence; the direction of the present era is freedom. . . . In England freedom has always been the direction of public opinion, and under its influence you have peacefully developed your institutions; but their further development depends on the condition of the principles of freedom throughout the world; should Absolutism succeed on the Continent it will recoil upon you; . . . I believe that even the success of the internal questions of England is deeply concerned in the administration of your foreign affairs; therefore, my most humble prayer to you, in the name of oppressed mankind is, that you inquire more how the foreign relations of England are managed; . . . to abolish the slavery of diplomacy would confer a benefit upon humanity. I fairly state that I do not consider it is the Russian arms that are omnipotent in the world, it is the intrigues of Russian diplomacy that are most dangerous; there is no Cabinet in the world that would not be affected by such dangerous intrigues, and these can only be counterbalanced by putting down this dangerous principle of secrecy, and by opening the eyes of the people to the whole of these affairs, . . . &c."

The morning he delivered this speech he returned to Birmingham, and addressed a full meeting in the Town Hall of that city, where he spoke again in the evening at a great banquet given in his honour; it was here he observed:—“Your Hampdens, your Russells and Sidneys, were also called revolutionists on their turn; and so, may God bless me, I will never long for a brighter fame than theirs; . . . I surely take a revolution for a very great misfortune, but I also own that an oppressed people, seeing every other means of preservation fail, has a right to make a revolution. The people of England must acknowledge this truth, because the freedom and greatness of England arises from the practical success of this truth; . . . the finger of God is stretched out over Europe; there are but two cases possible; the one is that the crisis of approaching events will place the established Governments one against another on Europe's Continent; in this case England cannot rest indifferent; should the fate of Europe happen to be decided without England's vote, England would be a European power no more; and should in this crisis reaction and despotism be the victors on the Continent, it were not necessary to see the Cossacks watering their horses in the Thames in order that England should no more be glorious and free; . . . the second case is that, in the approaching crisis there will not stand states against states, nations against nations, but that the nations will make up accounts against their Rulers and settle their own domestic affairs. What is it humanity expects in that case from Britannia? it expects that the people of England may not only respect (that is out of doubt,) but shall make respected the natural rights of nations; and should the Czar—requested or not requested—should the Czar once more threaten oppressed humanity, . . . humanity expects from the people of England that it will shake its mighty trident and shout out a powerful stop!

. Be sure, gentlemen, this single word, spoken *with the resolution to be as good as your word*, this single word will suffice; the short moral of my long speech is this, the Russian intervention in Hungary has put the foot of the Czar upon Europe. As long as Hungary, as long as Italy shall not become free, that foot of Russia will rest on Europe's neck,—yea, it will step from the neck upon the head, and there will be in Europe neither peace nor tranquillity but a continual boiling of volcano, and Europe a great barrack and a great field of blood; the cause of Hungary is the cause of civil and religious liberty, &c." . . .

On the 18th of November Kossuth returned to London, and made his last speech in the Hanover Square Rooms before leaving England for America.

His reception from the mass of the English people had surpassed the anticipations of his friends; from their superiors in worldly station and advantages it had been the reverse. The champion of old institutions, the friend of reform on Conservative principles, the orator who, by the might of his eloquence, had ruled the Hungarian Diet, composed of the greatest and wisest in the land, the Colleague of Louis Batthyanyi, the Minister of the Emperor of Austria, the Governor of Hungary, elected by the voice of the Aristocracy as well as of the people; he who had looked to England for support, and from her demanded a Sovereign for his country, was shunned by the rich and powerful as one of unknown or at least dubious character, whom it was difficult to decide whether to fear or to despise.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1851, 1852.

November to June.

Kossuth in America—His arrival announced by the President in Congress—Progress through America—Reception in Washington—Speech at Washington—Turkey—England—Speech at Pittsburg on Diplomacy—Speech at Cleveland on the Hungarian loan—Speech at Louisville on foreign policy and the importance of strengthening England—States visited by Kossuth—Speeches in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on England, France, and Turkey—Last speech of Kossuth to the German citizens of New York.

A very different reception awaited Kossuth in America from that which he had met with in England; he had been invited thither by Congress, and was received as the nation's guest by the President of the country, by Senators and Councillors, men of the highest station, as well as by the mass of the people.

Kossuth and Madame Kossuth were accompanied by their friends Pulszky, Madame Pulszky, and several Hungarian gentlemen; they arrived off Staten Island, December 5th, and were received by a deputation who came on board to bid the late Governor of Hungary welcome to the United States. Saturday, December 8th, was the day fixed upon to celebrate his landing in America: a few days before, the President Fillmore had announced the arrival of their illustrious guest in Congress. He made his entry into New York with all honours, and travelled by night to Philadelphia to avoid the crowds who greeted him wherever he passed. On the 27th he was received in Independence

Hall, where the American Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in July, 1776. From Philadelphia he proceeded to Baltimore, where he was escorted to his hotel by a vast concourse of people, and a long line of military. The City Council had voted resolutions expressive of their sympathy with the exiles, and with their struggles for independence, and had sent to New York an address welcoming Kossuth and his companions, which had been presented by the Chairman of their Committee. Kossuth now, therefore, in the Hall of the Maryland Institute, expressed his thanks to the citizens of Baltimore. He reached Washington on the 30th December, where a committee of three gentlemen, Senator Seward, late Governor of New York, General Cass, and General Shields, had been appointed by Congress to welcome him. The Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, was among the first to visit Kossuth, and to mark his respect for him; when asked, a few days later, what he thought of the Hungarian exile, he replied; "He has the manners of a king, his is a royal nature."

* The following day, after the President's levee, the rooms of Kossuth were crowded with visitors who came, not only to gaze upon the stranger, but with hearts filled with sympathy for him and for his nation. On the 6th of January Kossuth dined with the President Fillmore, to meet the President of the Senate, Senator King of Alabama (since Vice-President of the United States), General Scott, &c. He was also invited to an audience given by the President to a party of Indians from the far West. On the 7th, the Congress of the United States invited him to the Capitol; such an honour had never been bestowed upon any individual, except La Fayette; the galleries and lobbies were crowded with ladies, and as he entered, the members of the House all rose, while the Chairman of the Committee introduced him in these words; "Mr. Speaker, I have the honour

on the part of the Committee, to present Governor Louis Kossuth to the House of Representatives;" to which the Speaker replied; "As the organ of this body, I have the honour to extend to Louis Kossuth a cordial welcome to the House of Representatives." Kossuth then said; "Sir, it is a remarkable fact in the history of mankind, that while, through all the past, honours were bestowed upon glory, and glory was attached only to success, the legislative authorities of this great Republic bestow honours upon a persecuted exile, not conspicuous by glory, not favoured by success, but engaged in a just cause. There is a triumph of republican principles in this fact. Sir, I thank in my own and my country's name, the House of Representatives of the United States for the Honour of this cordial welcome." After he had taken the seat prepared for him, the House was adjourned, to allow those who had assembled to witness this introduction, to be presented to Kossuth.

A banquet was given in his honour that same evening by the Members of both Houses of Congress, presided over by the Honourable William R. King of Alabama, the President of the Senate. Kossuth was placed on his right hand, and the Honourable Daniel Webster, Secretary of State on his left. The Honourable Linn Boyd, Speaker of the House of Representatives sat next Kossuth, and among the distinguished guests were the Honourable Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Honourable Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior.

After the health of the President, and of the Judiciary of the United States had been given, Judge Wagner of the Supreme Court proposed "Constitutional Liberty to all the Nations of the Earth, supported by Christian faith, and the morality of the Bible;" a toast which was enthusiastically received; the Honourable William King gave "Hungary; represented in the person of our honoured guest; having

proved herself worthy to be free, by the virtues and valour of her sons, the law of nations, and the dictates of justice alike demand that she shall have fair play in her struggle for independence." Kossuth replied in a long and eloquent speech, after which the health of Daniel Webster was given, when the Secretary of State expressed his opinion with regard to the National Independence of Hungary.* After a toast had been given for Turkey, Kossuth rose and again addressed the meeting; "I owe it to the honour of the Sultan to say openly, that before any one could have got knowledge that I had appealed to the public opinion of England—when the decision of the Great Divan was announced to the Sultan to be unfavourable to the exiles, he out of the generosity of his own heart, without knowing what we were willing to accept or not to accept, declared, 'they are upon the soil; they have trusted to my honour, to my justice—to my religion—and they shall not be deceived. Rather will I accept war than deliver them up.' . . . When we make a comparison between the Turkish Government, and that of Austria and Russia in respect to religious liberty, the scale turns entirely in favour of Turkey. There is not only toleration of all religions, but the Government does not mix with their religious affairs, but leaves these entirely to their own control; whereas under Austria, although self-government was secured by three victorious revolutions, by treaties which ensured these revolutions, and by hundreds of laws; still Austria has blotted out from Hungary the self-government of the Protestant Church, while Turkey accords and protects the self-government of every religious denomination. Russia (as it is well-known), taking religion as a political tool, persecutes the Roman

* See Kossuth's Speeches condensed and abridged by Francis W. Newman.

Catholics, and indeed the Greeks and Jews in such a manner that the heart of a man must revolt against it. The Sultan, whenever a fanatic dares to encroach on the religious freedom of any one at all in his wide dominions, is the inexorable champion of that religious liberty which is permitted everywhere under his rule . . . the existence of Turkey, great as the present power of Europe is, is indispensable to the security of Europe. You know that in the Crimea, in the time of Catherine, Potemkin wrote the words, 'Here passes the way to Constantinople.' The policy indicated by him at that time is always the policy of St. Petersburg; and it is of Constantinople that Napoleon rightly said, that the power which has it in command, if it is willing, is able to rule three quarters of the world I say, Turkey has vitality such as not many nations have; it has a power that not many have Gentlemen, I declare that should the next revolutionary movement in Europe extend to the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Servia; and should Turkey hereby fall—this would not become a benefit to those provinces, but would benefit Russia only, &c. . . .

On the 8th January, the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, Kossuth received an address from the Democratic Association, in Washington, who were opposed to the doctrine of neutrality. In his reply he took the opportunity to speak in favour of England. "Let me entreat your permission for one topic more; I received, during my brief stay in England, some one hundred and thirty addresses from cities and associations, all full of the same warm sympathy for my country's cause which you have so generously testified; that sympathy was accorded to me notwithstanding my frank declaration that I am a republican, and that my country, when restored to independence, can be nothing but a republic. Now this is a fact, gratifying to every friend of progress in public sentiment, highly proving that the

people are everywhere honourable, just, noble, and good, &c. . . . Oh ! let me entreat you to bury the hatred of past ages in the grave where all the crimes of the past lie mouldering with the ashes of those who sinned, and take the glorious opportunity to benefit the great cause of humanity ; . . . it were indeed a great misfortune to see the Government of Great Britain pushed by irritation to side with the Absolutist powers against the oppressed nations about to struggle for independence and liberty ; . . . if England would but unite with you not to allow foreign interference with our struggles on the Continent, this would become almost a sure guarantee of the victory of those struggles, &c. . . .

From Washington Kosstth proceeded to Annapolis, where he was received in the house of the Governor of the State and introduced the next day to the Senate. On the 14th January he visited Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, whither he was invited by the State Legislature, and delivered a speech on the weakness of despotism. He arrived at Pittsburg on the 27th, where he was welcomed in the Freemasons' Hall by an overflowing audience, and spoke on Russian ascendancy and supremacy. He particularly dwelt on the most dangerous power of Russia, her diplomacy ; and remarked how while she starves her armies, and underpays her officials who live by speculation abroad, " she devotes greater resources to her diplomacy than any other power has ever done . . . She finds it easier and cheaper, through diplomatic agency, to impress the world with a belief in a strength she has not, than to try to organize or attain that strength. . . . Russian diplomacy is not restricted to diplomatic proceedings ; brilliant saloons of fascinating ladies, as well as marriages, are equally departments of Russian diplomacy. . . . Every Russian diplomatist has unlimited credit, and is allowed to disburse any sum to achieve an adequate result. " . . . Russia is powerful by an army held ready as a rear-guard to

support needy despots with ; powerful by its ascendancy over the European continent ; powerful by having pushed other despots into extremities where they have lost all independent vitality, and cannot escape throwing themselves into the iron grasp of the Czar ; but, above all, Russia is powerful by secret diplomacy. Still this Colossus, gigantic as it appears to be, like to the idol, 'with front of brass but feet of clay,' may be overturned, easily overturned, from its fragile pedestal, if the glorious Republic of the United States opposes to it, with resolute attitude, the *Law of Nations*, and does not abandon principles in favour of accomplished criminal facts."

Kossuth received a deputation from the Legislature of Massachusetts, inviting him to visit the State. He was addressed at Cleveland, as the rightful Governor of Hungary, and explained his views respecting a Hungarian loan :

"In regard to aid by *private funds*, I rejoice to see local associations clustering round the central one of Northern Ohio in Cleveland ; but I desire that such efforts may not be delayed until I come in person ; for I can possibly come only to a few. Already, in New York, I started the idea of a National Hungarian Loan, in shares of one, five, and ten dollars, with the facsimile of my signature ; and of larger shares of fifty and of a hundred dollars with my autograph. I prepared the smaller shares, for generous men who are not rich, yet desire to help the great cause of Freedom. It is a noble privilege of the richer to do greater good ; but, remember, it is not a gift, it is a loan : either Freedom has no name on earth, or Hungary has a future yet : and let Hungary be once again independent, and she has ample resources to pay that small loan, if the people of the United States, remembering the aid received in their own dark hour, vouchsafe to me such a loan. Hungary has

no public debt; it has fifteen millions of population: a territory of more than one hundred thousand square English miles, abundant in the greatest variety of Nature's blessings, if the doom of oppression be taken from it. The State of Hungary has public landed property administered badly, worth more than a hundred million of dollars, even at the low price at which it was already an established principle of my administration to sell it, in small shares, to suit the poorer classes. Hungary has rich mines of gold, silver, copper, quicksilver, antimony, iron, sulphur, nickel, opal and other mines. Hungary has the richest salt mines in the world—where the extraction of one hundred weight of the purest stone salt amounts to but little more than one shilling of your money—and though that is sold by the Government at the price of two to three-and-a-half dollars, and thus the consumption is of course very restricted, this still yields a net revenue of five million of dollars a year—to the Government—but no! There is no Government, it is usurpation now: sucking out the life-blood of the people; crushing the spirit of Freedom by soldiers, hangmen, policemen: and harassing the people in its domestic life, and the sanctuary of its family with oppression—worse than a free American can conceive."

The Hungarian exiles travelled onwards through Columbus, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis to Louisville, each place vying with the other, how they could show them the most honour. In the Court House of Louisville, Kossuth in reply to an address, spoke on the importance of foreign policy, and of strengthening England. "There is scarcely anything which has more astonished me than the fact that, for the last thirty-seven years, almost every Christian nation has shared the great fault of not caring much about what are called foreign matters, and foreign policy. Precisely the great nations, England, France, America, which might have

regulated the course of their Governments for a very considerable period, abandoned almost entirely that part of their public concerns, which with great nations is the most important of all, because it regulates the position of the country in its great national capacity. The slightest internal interest was discussed publicly, and regulated previously by the nation, before the Government had to execute it; but, as to the most important interest—the national position the country and its relations to the world, *Secret Diplomacy*, a fatality to mankind, stepped in, and the nations had to accept the consequences of what was already done, though they subsequently reproved it. In England, I, four months ago, avowed that all the interior questions together cannot equal in importance the exterior; *there* is summed up the future of Britain; and if the people of England do not cut short the secret of Diplomacy—if it do not in time take this all absorbing interest into its own hands, as it is wont to do with every small home interest, it will have to meet immense danger very soon, as this danger has already accumulated by former neglect. Here too, in the United States, there is no possible question equal in importance to foreign policy, and especially in regard to European matters; and I say, that if the United States do not in due time adopt such a course as will prevent the Czar of Russia, and his despotic satellites, from believing that the United States give them entirely free field to regulate the condition of Europe, which cannot fail to react morally and materially on your condition, then, indeed, embarrassments, sufferings, and danger will accumulate in a very short time over you You are blood from England! bone from its bone, and flesh from its flesh. The Anglo-Saxon race was the kernel around which gathered this glorious fruit—your Republic. Every other nationality is oppressed. It is the Anglo-Saxon alone which stands high and erect in its independence. You, the

younger brother are entirely free, because Republican. They, the elder brother are monarchical, but they have a constitution, and they have many institutions which even you retained, and by retaining them, have proved that they are institutions congenial to freedom and dear to freemen. The free press, the jury, free speech, the freedom of association, the institution of municipalities, the share of the people in the legislature are English institutions; the inviolability of person, and the inviolability of property are English principles. England is the last stronghold of these principles in Europe. Is this not enough to make you stand side by side with those principles, in behalf of oppressed humanity? . . . Russia has interfered in Hungary, because it considered the example set by Hungary, dangerous to Russia. America has silently recognized the right of that interference. France has interfered in Rome, because the example of Roman democracy was dangerous to France; America has silently agreed. The absolutist governments in protection of their divine right have leagued in a saintly alliance, with the openly avowed purpose to aid one another by mutual interference against the spirit of revolution, and the anarchy of republicanism. America has not protested against it; therefore the principle of foreign interference against every dangerous example has, by common consent of every power on earth, contradicted by none, not even by America, become an established international law. . . . Neutrality, as a constant rule, is impossible to a great power. Neutrality, when taken as a principle, means indifference to the condition of the world, &c. . . .

The journey of Kossuth continued to be a series of triumphs; from Louisville he was welcomed to St. Louis, thence to Jackson, New Orleans, and Mobile in the South, and again to Trenton, Burlington, Worcester, Boston, Charlestown, Lynn, Salem, Lexington, Plymouth, Fallriver, Albany,

Buffalo, Auburn, Syracuse, Utica, from one end of the vast Continent of America to the other. The Legislatures and Governors of Indiana, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Maine, and New York, invited him to the Capitals of their States; the Protestant clergy welcomed the champion of religious liberty, and Henry Clay, though dying, requested to see Kossuth, that he might express his sympathy in the cause of Hungary; money was largely bestowed and arms presented to the exiles.

Only two classes in the United States refused a hearty welcome to Kossuth. These were the Jesuits with the Roman Catholic bishops, who, though they preached against him in their pulpits, could not prevent the Irish population attending the meetings given in his honour; and the advocates for slavery, those who follow the maxim of Governor Macduffy, that "Slavery is the corrective of Freedom." They form a small minority in the United States,* and they could not sympathise with the eloquent defender of political liberty, for they believed the Czar not to be so bad as he is generally represented, and despotism to be not inconsistent with an enlightened administration. Men holding similar opinions are to be found in every country. There were, besides, a certain number in the United States who kept aloof, not from any hostile feeling towards Kossuth or Hungary, but from the fear of his embroiling their nation in European contests; forgetting that America owes her own liberty to aid from Europe, and becomes daily more closely connected with all the nations of the world, whose prosperity or adversity must essentially affect her own.

* It is one thing to advocate slavery and another to see difficulties in removing the evil, and at the same time to be just to the slave and to the slaveholder, who must bear the sin of his fathers from the time when Englishmen first introduced the practice into their colonies.

While in the United States, Kossuth delivered nearly three hundred speeches, eighty of which were orations of considerable length, and each contained new matter, or were upon some new subject. Two of the most remarkable were these spoken on 30th April and the 14th May, in Faneuil Hall, Boston. On the first occasion, the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, and the members of both houses of the State Legislature attended; eight hundred and seventy tickets were taken besides, by those desirous of being present, one of whom was the venerable Josiah Quincy. The President of the Senate, the Honourable Henry Wilson, took the Chair.

"In thirty-six years," Kossuth commenced: "with God's help, and through your generous aid, the free people of Hungary will celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the establishment of their home—the millenium of Hungary in Europe. Yes, gentlemen; may I hope that celebration will take place under the blessings of liberty in the year 1888." After giving a full explanation of the Government and Constitution of Hungary, the origin and conduct of the late Revolution, and the prospects of the country, he proceeded: "The venerable gentleman (Josiah Quincy) spoke a word about England. I believe the Anglo-Saxon race must have a high destiny in the history of mankind. It is the only race, the younger brother of which is free, while the elder brother has also some freedom. You, gentlemen, acknowledge, that from the mother country you obtained certain of your principles of liberty—free thought, a free people, : and I am sure, gentlemen, the English people are proud of liberty. Called to pronounce against the league of despots, if the Republic of United States and Constitutional England were in concord, what would be the consequence ?

. . . I have often met, in the United States, an objection against an alliance with England; but it is chiefly the

Irish who are opposed to being on good terms with England. In respect to the Irish, if I could contribute to the future unity in action of the United States and England, I should more aid the Irish, than by all the exclamations against one another. . . . I was glad to hear the words of that venerable gentleman. They brought to my mind the words of John Adams, first minister of the United States, to England. When he addressed the king, he said—‘He would be happy could he restore entire esteem, confidence, and affection between the United States and England;’ and King George III. replied: ‘I was the last to conform to the separation, and I am the first to meet the friendship of the United States.’ Let the communities of language, religion, and blood have their full and natural effect. . . . When I was in England, nothing gave me more delight than to hear delegations addressing me, mention your Washington, and confess themselves sorry that he had to manifest his greatness in contending against England; but they were more proud to see the greatness of such a man, than not to have been opposed to him.

On the 14th May, Kossuth delivered his most brilliant speech while in America, upon the condition of Europe, a few extracts of which are given here:—

“Freedom never yet was given to nations as a gift, but only as a reward, bravely earned by one’s own exertions, own sacrifices, and own toil; and never will, never shall, it be attained otherwise. . . . France is the country of sudden changes,* and of unthought-of accidents. I therefore will not presume to tell the events of its next week; but one alternative I dare to state: Louis Napoleon either falls or maintains himself. The fall of Louis Napoleon, even if

* The coup d’état of Louis Napoleon had occurred in December, 1851.

brought about by the old monarchical parties, can have no other issue than a Republic—a Republic more faithful to the community of freedom in Europe than all the former Revolutions have been. Or if Louis Napoleon maintains himself, he can do so only either by relying upon the army, or by flattering the feelings and interest of the masses. If he relies upon the army, he must give it to glory and profit, or in other words, he must give it to war. Or if Louis Napoleon relies upon the feelings of the masses, in spite of himself he becomes a tool in the hands of democracy; and if, by becoming such, he forsakes the allegiance of his masters—the league of absolutistical powers—he will be either forced to attack them, or be attacked by them.” After reviewing the state of Italy, Germany, and Hungary, he described the condition of Turkey, contrasting the spirit of toleration there to the intolerance of Russia. “Turkey has now the enthusiastic support of her Mussulman population. The Christian population, with the only exception of Bulgaria, partakes of this enthusiasm. All the warlike tribes, from Albania to Kerdistan, are now supporting the authority of the Sultan. Mehemet Ali is gone; Arabia and Syria are again under the dominion of the Sultan; Servia has made peace, and has become the support of Turkey, offering her, in case of a Russian war, 80,000 men. The Principalities have become the enemies of Russia; they had too long to suffer from her oppression. The public revenue has doubled. Turkey has organized a regular army of 200,000 men, equal to any other, besides, the militia. She has distinguished generals—Omer Pasha—Geyon. Her fleet is equal to the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and her steam fleet superior to the Russian. She has for allies all the people from the Caucasus to the Carpathians; the Circassians, the Tartars under Emir Mirza, the Cossacks of the Dobroja, by whom the electric shock is transmitted to

Poland and Hungary, form an unbroken chain by which the spark is carried into the heart of Europe, where all the combustible elements wait the moment for explosion. Twenty-four years ago Turkey was believed to be in a decaying state; it is now stronger than it has been for the last hundred years. . . . You can see why it is my fear, that this week, or this month, or this year, Russia will attack Turkey, and we shall not be entirely prepared; but though you do not give us material aid, still we must rise when Turkey is attacked, because we must not lose its 400,000 soldiers. The time draws nigh when you will see more the reason I have to hasten these preparations, that they may be complete whenever, through the death of Nicholas, or Louis Napoleon, or a thousand other things—most probably a war between Russia and Turkey—we want to take time by the forelock."

The last speech of Kossuth in America was in the German language, addressed to the German citizens of New York, in which he conjured Germany, Italy, and Hungary to bind themselves in a new covenant to throw off the yoke of the oppressor, like the three Swiss on the field of Rütli. •

"Now, by the God who led my people from the prairies of distant Asia, to the banks of the Danube; of the Danube whose waves have brought to us religion, science, and civilization from Germany, and in whose waters the tears of Germany and Hungary have mingled; by the God who led us, when, on the soil moistened with our blood we were the bulwark of Christendom; by the God who gave strength to our arms in the struggle for freedom until our oppressor, this godless House, which weighed so heavily for centuries on the liberties of Germany was humbled and sunk to be the underling of the Muscovite Czar; by the ties of the common oppression which tortures our nations; by the ties of the same love of liberty and of the same hatred of tyranny which

boils in the veins of our people; by the memory of the day when the Germans of Vienna rose to bar the way which led to Hungary against the hirelings of despotism, and by the blood from Hungarian hearts which flowed on the plain of Schwechat for the deliverance of Vienna; by the Almighty Eye which watches over the destinies of mankind; by all these I have pledged myself and I do pledge myself again that the people of Hungary will keep this covenant honestly, faithfully, and truly, in life and in death. . . . Exert your influence and active aid in behalf of the movement for freedom in Europe; I can but assure you in my grateful farewell that there are hundreds of thousands in Europe who take these words for their motto which the German singers sang the other day, as from the depth of my heart—

“The shield and the spear shall never rest
Till we see all our enemies laid in the dust.

“May God keep me! This is my oath, and my oath is my farewell.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

1852, 1853.

Reports circulated in England during the absence of Kossuth—Casimir Batthyanyi—Vukovics—Szemere—Kossuth's popularity in Hungary—Is welcomed to England by his friends—He lives in retirement—Persecutions of his mother and sisters in Austria—Death of his mother—Kossuth appears again before the English public—Insurrection in Milan—Conduct of Mazzini—The Hale Bockers—House of Kossuth searched—Spies—Ruse examined—Summary of what Kossuth has done for Hungary—His character—Conclusion.

WHILE Kossuth was yet in America a rumour had been

circulated and believed in England that his expedition to the United States had proved a failure; calumnies, too, had been forged against him, even by those upon whose friendship he might have relied. While he was labouring for the cause of Hungary, two of his former Ministers, one of whom, at least, he had reason to suppose his friend, had been at work to injure him and to sow discord among those who had but one and the same end in view. Count Casimir Batthyanyi, residing in Paris, had published a calumnious letter, filled with false statements respecting Kossuth, which had been replied to by the Ex-Minister of Justice, Vukovics; and Bartholomew Szemere wrote a letter in the early part of the year 1852 to the London Examiner, with accusations against the late Governor of Hungary, and his conduct when Minister with regard to the Italian question of 1848, charging him besides with an endeavour to concentrate all power and authority in his own person. This letter also was answered by another Hungarian exile; jealousy of Kossuth, secret envy and ambition, with all the unhappy consequences of the idleness of a life of banishment had caused division among some of the Hungarian patriots, to the detriment of their cause and to the advantage of Austria; but in Hungary, Kossuth though absent, daily gained in influence, the people fondly cherished in their hearts the remembrance of all he had done for them, and he was still the star for which they looked, to rise and proclaim the advent of a new liberty. A common suffering will sometimes unite men in a common cause, and Slovacks and Serbs alike subscribed themselves as Magyars in the Austrian census, while nine hundred out of every thousand boys born in Hungary since 1848 bore the name of Lajos (Louis), and with each coming spring all hearts beat high in the hope that the "Deliverer" will return.

Kossuth was welcomed to England by his faithful Hungarian friends, and resolved with their concurrence to live in

perfect seclusion, devoting the time he could spare from such studies as might one day conduce to the future welfare of Hungary, to the education of his children, and to his wife, whose delicate health precluded her from the enjoyment of any society beyond that of her own immediate friends. A great sorrow awaited him in the death of his mother, for whom he had ever cherished a deep and tender affection; after her grandchildren had been conveyed to Kutahia, she and her daughters continued to reside in Pesth. Reduced to the utmost necessity, they were obliged to keep a boarding-house in the town, by which they earned a scanty livelihood; the little they could spare from themselves they bestowed upon the sick and wounded Honvéds, the remains of the Hungarian army who had been left to starve. These acts of kindness excited the suspicions of the Austrians, and at the very time in which Kossuth was embarking for America, his two sisters, Madame Rutkay and Madame Meszlenyi, were suddenly thrown into prison. Madame Rutkay was a widow, the mother of five young children, and Madame Meszlenyi of two; Madame Kossuth and her youngest daughter were both in feeble health; one stormy winter night of 1852, their lodging was suddenly surrounded by a detachment of Gens d'armes; the officers in command entered the bed-room of the ladies, and after searching every corner desired Madame Rutkay and Madame Meszlenyi to rise and dress themselves. After using coarse and unmanly language towards them both they ordered them, though only half-dressed, to leave the house; it was with some difficulty that the aged mother, who was utterly helpless, obtained permission to remain behind; the two ladies, guarded by soldiers, were then compelled to march on foot through the mud and wet, to the prison for political offenders, which lay at a distance of about three miles from their lodgings; that night Madame Meszlenyi contracted a

pulmonary disease which has since brought her to the verge of the grave.

After an imprisonment of two months in Vienna, and when no proofs could be found against them, they were released, under a sentence of perpetual banishment from Hungary. They were not even permitted to return for a few weeks to arrange their affairs, and bid their friends farewell. Provided with passports they, with their mother, and their eldest sister, Madame Zsulafsky, were sent, under the surveillance of an Austrian officer, to Belgium, where they spent nearly a year in Brussels, supporting themselves by embroidery and selling lace. Liberal sums of money were presented to Kossuth while in America for their assistance; and before his return to Europe, his eldest sister and her husband and children crossed the Atlantic, and established themselves in the United States, where they were received with the utmost sympathy.

The mother of Kossuth gradually declined in health, and expressed a strong desire to see her son once again before she died; but the Belgian Government refused his request to visit her unless he consented to be accompanied wherever he went by an officer of police. He might, perhaps, have submitted to this degrading condition for her sake; but no sooner did his mother hear it, than she herself forbade him to come to her; and she expired in the last days of 1852, blessing him with her dying breath. Though in poverty and exile, deprived of the sight of him she most loved on earth, she was still to be envied among mothers; happy in the knowledge that the virtues of her son whose childhood she had watched over, had been tried in the ordeal of prosperity as well as of adversity, and had not been found wanting.

Kossuth has only twice appeared before the public since his return to England; * once with Mazzini at a meeting of

* Since the above was written, Kossuth has again addressed the

the friends of Italy, and once when a memorial of Shakspeare was presented to him, purchased by the penny subscriptions of the working men of England. His name, however, was again brought forward in a manner which drew him unwillingly from the seclusion in which he desired to remain.

The cruelties practised by the orders of the Austrian Government upon the Italians had at length passed the patience of a people who have only endured too long. Mazzini, like Kossuth, was desirous to prevent any outbreak which he knew too well would then be premature; and he used all his influence to repress it. Another power was, however, hurrying affairs on to a crisis. Torture was used in the prisons to extract evidence against innocent persons. This was proved not only by the secret communications from the prisoners but by their mangled bodies, when, after execution, their friends had them disinterred. Those of the highest station and of the most respectable conduct were entrapped into dungeons and condemned to years of chains, hard labour, and confinement, where thousands still languish. Instruments had been devised to make the death by hanging slow and painful; and nearly four thousand executions had taken place by the orders of Radetzky. Finally, it was decided, that an exact estimate should be made of the value of all property belonging to the Lombards, in order to ascertain how far the amount of taxation could be increased, as the physician feels the pulse in cases of torture, to learn

English public, after receiving a special invitation from the inhabitants of Sheffield and Nottingham, who look with distrust on the alliance with Austria. In his two speeches delivered, in June, 1854, before a numerous assemblage of the most respectable inhabitants of each of these cities, Kossuth maintained that the alliance of Austria with the western Powers would prevent any settlement which could secure Turkey against the future attacks of Russia, even if victory should attend the arms of the allies.

how much the sufferer can bear. But the wisdom or folly of the Austrian Government in this instance depended on the degree of advantage expected to be derived from the consequences of this policy. The people, goaded to madness, burst into the unfortunate revolt of Milan, in February, 1853. As soon as Mazzini perceived he could no longer prevent the catastrophe, he hastened to share the danger of his countrymen. In the desperation of an hour, when he believed the fortunes of Italy at stake, he was tempted to use the name of Kossuth in an address, fabricated from the paper entrusted to his care, when the Hungarian exile was in Kutahia. The meaning was altered to suit his purpose: and where the original urged the Hungarian soldiers to wait in patience, but stand prepared when the time should come, the words were so changed as to convert them into an exhortation to rise at once. The transformed, the paper, signed with the name of Kossuth, was placarded in the streets of Milan.

It was by the English newspapers Kossuth first learned the fatal act of Milan. Deeply as he resented the personal injury, he could not allow his feelings for his own reputation to outweigh his regard for the safety of the people. The deed was done; and he believed a denial of the proclamation at that moment might destroy the faint chance of success in the struggle, cause worse confusion and bloodshed, and put an end to all confidence in Mazzini as well as in himself; since, at a distance, where no explanation would avail, it would have been difficult to know who to trust, if the leaders themselves were at variance. He therefore silently bore the imputations and falsehoods to which the act of Mazzini gave rise, until their wide circulation in the public papers of England made it imperative, for the sake of those who looked upon him as their leader in the cause of Hungary, to write his vindication. In doing so he spared the character

of Mazzini as far as it was possible, consistently with truth ; but, unfortunately, the Italian patriot, though still absent from England, and unable personally to communicate with Kossuth, wrote a letter which immediately appeared in the *Times*, filled with indignant recrimination on him whom he had already so deeply injured.

All know the fate of Milan. Mazzini escaped through the midst of his enemies to return to England in bitterness of spirit, disappointed, and almost crushed at heart. The dereliction from truth was a great crime ; but it must not be forgotten that the temptation was also great ; and let not those judge him severely who have not known what it is to see the lives, liberties, and happiness of millions at stake, and to believe he has that within his grasp which might save them, though at the expense of right. How many, alas, have been led astray by forsaking the path marked out by Providence, and trusting to the uncertain guidance of what they believe, may be, rather than what they know, is !

Kossuth has forgiven the injury to himself, and Mazzini's violation of a moral law must be left to the verdict of One, to whom motives are of more value than acts.

In April, a report that the house of Kossuth had been searched for arms by an order from Government, occasioned great excitement in London. A few months before, a man of the name of Usener applied to Kossuth for assistance. He had served in the Prussian army when young ; had afterwards been employed on railroads in Hungary ; and had fought during the war of independence in the Hungarian army, where he had risen to the rank of an officer. He represented himself to Kossuth as being in a state of destitution, and confessed that in his extremity he had stolen a watch, and been imprisoned ; that he was only recently set at liberty, and must starve if he could find no employment. Kossuth applied to some of his friends, though acquainting

them that he could not recommend the man from any personal knowledge of his character. About this time, Hale, a manufacturer of rockets, in the vicinity of London, was engaged in some scientific researches which he did not wish communicated to the world until they were completed. He thought it, therefore, safer to employ foreign than English workmen, and consented to take Usener into his service. Soon afterwards, Usener went to the Austrian Embassy, and accused Hale of manufacturing rockets for Kossuth. It was there known that, if proved, Hale as well as Kossuth would be charged with having been guilty of a practice contrary to the Foreign Enlistment Act. At the request of the Austrian Embassy, therefore, the British Ministers ordered the premises of Hale to be searched, and his rockets seized. Spies had already, for some time, been placed about Kossuth, and an officer of the detective police was now employed to accompany the men who were removing his furniture from Notting Hill to his new residence in Alpha Road, and, unknown to them, to examine his papers, none of which, however, were found to contain treasonable matter. Having thus been subjected to the treatment reserved in England for the lowest criminals, Kossuth was one morning surprised to read in the *Times* that his house had been searched, and that he was accused of conspiring with Hale against Austria. Hale was brought up before the Police Court and fined by an obsolete and antiquated statute of William and Mary, for keeping more powder than was permitted, without a licence, in the vicinity of London. Usener was, however, the only witness for the Government; and he being a convicted felon, just out of gaol, Lord Palmerston considered it the wisest course to pass over the charge of the infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and to give Hale a premium and compensation for his losses and trouble.

The matter was, however, brought before the House. but

Lord Palmerston refused to give any explanation to clear the character of Kossuth from the unjust charge, or offer the slightest apology for the public injury inflicted upon him. After some bantering expressions on the part of the Ministers, and indignant words from the friends of Kossuth in the House, the affair was dropped.

A few weeks later, Usener was arrested in Brussels as a suspicious person, and money and papers were found upon him, both of which he confessed to have received as a reward for his testimony in the Hale affair. He was ordered to make two copies of his confession, one of which was sent to Vienna, the other to the Austrian Embassy in London. Some time after, when he was attempting to pass from Holland to Silesia, he was arrested in Prussia, delivered up to Austria, and hung; the cause of his death is unknown.

It has sometimes been asked, what has Kossuth done for Hungary? He has roused the public spirit; produced combined action in her separate county meetings; he has asserted the ancient Hungarian right of liberty of speech and of meeting; he has reformed the abuses of a privileged class, and roused them to a sense of the moral obligations they owed to their countrymen; he has carried equality of taxation; abolished by law the immunity of the nobles to pay taxes; he has reconciled the interests of the various classes; he has stimulated trade and manufactures, and awakened a proper spirit of emulation among the artisans and merchants; he has established Savings' Banks, Railway Companies, and many other institutions for the benefit of the people; he has raised the social position of professional men: he has carried the law by which the peasant was made a free citizen, and by which copyholds were transformed into freeholds; reformed the municipalities and enlarged the suffrage, while retaining a property qualification; and he has maintained the just influence of the aris-

tocracy and the power and privileges of the crown. In a time when the King of Hungary betrayed his subjects, broke his coronation oath, and abandoned the kingdom to foreign and unprincipled Ministers, when no choice remained but to submit to despotic rulers and martial law, or to arm in the defence of the country, Kossuth raised an army where there was none, restored the finances, found money, ammunition, arms, soldiers, provisions, and preserved Hungary from anarchy and confusion. Not a single deed of violence was committed by the Hungarian people, with the exception of the murder of Lamberg, and some few reprisals which took place in the south, where the strictly-disciplined armies of Austria emulated the savage Wallacks and Serbs in barbarity and cruelty, worthy only of the soldiers of Ghengis Khan.

Kossuth possesses true courage, a quality more rare now than in an age when the term applied merely to physical nerve, depending on natural temperament and on the excitement of external circumstances. As a soldier of Christ, he can neither be seduced by the allurements of vanity nor scared from his duty by the slanders and suspicions of men. He has faced democracy and despotism, yet his constancy is unshaken; for he has but one guide, and that an Immutable One; one aim, and that the moral welfare of mankind. He is the practical illustration of the German axiom—"Thue recht, and guck 'nicht um."

What Kossuth has done he may do again; and, with the memory of the Past, with trust in the Present, and hope in the Future, he may do more. Even should it please the All-Wise to remove him before his great work is accomplished, his life has not been in vain; for, in the words of Algernon Sydney—"When good principles are planted, they do not die with the person who introduced them; and good institutions remain, though the authors of them perish."

• GOD SPEED THE RIGHT.

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